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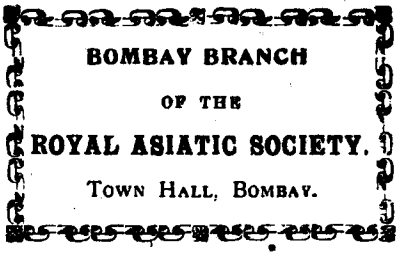

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A VIEW

OF

THE HISTORY AND COINAGE

OF

THE PARTHIANS,

WITH

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUES AND TABLES,

ILLUSTRATED WITH

87508

A COMPLETE SET OF ENGRAVINGS OF COINS,

A LARGE NUMBER OF THEM UNPUBLISHED.

BY JOHN LINDSAY, ESQ., BARRISTER AT LAW,

Hon. Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, &c., &c.; and Author of "Views of the Coinage of Ireland, the Heptarchy and Scotland," &c.

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TO

RICHARD SAINTHILL, Esq.

From whose advice and extensive Numismatic Correspondence I have on all occasions derived so much assistance,

THIS WORK ON THE HISTORY AND COINAGE OF THE PARTHIANS,

Is gratefully inscribed,

BY HIS

Sincere friend and brother Numismatist,

JOHN LINDSAY.

Maryville, Cork, October 18, 1852.

A VIEW

OF

THE COINAGE OF THE PARTHIANS.

PREFACE.

The Coins of the Parthian princes have perhaps afforded to Numismatists more perplexity than those of any other series, and although Visconti, Sestini, Mionnet and Dumersan, together with M. Longperier and M. Lenormant, and in a still more recent and very valuable publication, Mr. De Bartholomæi have made a very considerable degree of progress in their arrangement, I think it will be admitted that they have still left the subject incumbered with many doubts and difficulties.

The obscurity in which this series has been so long involved, and the little success which has attended the investigations of so many eminent Numismatists, had for a great many years induced me to devote a considerable portion of time to this very difficult and unpromising subject, and to collect as many of these coins as I conveniently could, and I have succeeded in collecting a very large number of them,* and which but for the little estimation in which they have hitherto been held by collectors, I could never have accomplished, and from this collection as well as from numerous other sources, I have extracted a large stock of materials for the investigation of this series.

Convinced that even the distinguished works of Sestini, Visconti and Mionnet, had left the subject in a very unsatisfactory state, I had several years since drawn up a view of the drachms of these princes, the most important class of their coins, but not having satisfied myself as to the appropriations of several of them I deferred publishing it.

* Nearly 300 silver and 100 brass, selected from at least double those numbers, and nearly all differing in either type, legend, or adjuncts.

Since then the work of M. Lenormant on the drachms of the thirteen first princes, that of M. Longperier on those of the eleven last, and that of Mr. De Bartholomæi on the entire series have appeared, and they have added considerably to our knowledge of this series, and removed some of the most important difficulties which embarrassed it, but differing from them as to many of their appropriations, and believing that I could make some important additions to the numerous varieties exhibited by them, I considered that the time had arrived when I might give to the public the result of my investigations.

The larger silver coins as well as the very few of smaller size than the drachm, have been but little noticed even by the most recent writers, whilst a considerable number of new varieties of them have been discovered, and the classification of the copper and brass coins of this series has been hitherto almost entirely neglected.

The history of the Parthian kings has hitherto been but little attended to, and I have therefore considered a short view of it in connexion with their coins would be acceptable to the reader, and place the value of Numismatic illustration in a more prominent point of view.

Before I proceed to the consideration of this subject, I beg to return my best thanks to the following Numismatists for the assistance I have received from them in the progress of this work.

To M. Longperier, I feel much indebted for his essay on the silver coins of the eleven later Arsacidæ, with which he kindly presented me, and it gives me much pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I have derived from it, particularly with regard to his important discovery of the coins of Artabanus IV., and the chronological arrangement of the different reigns, and I can truly say, that although I can add materially to his observations, I have met with in his work, but very little from which I could dissent.

To the Numismatic Society in general, and to J. B. Bergne, Esq., C. R. Smith, Esq., and James Cove Jones, Esq., in particular, I tender my best thanks for the scarce and interesting essay of M. Lenormant, on the drachms of the thirteen first Arsacidæ, which was kindly lent to me by the Society, and which I had long sought for in vain from other quarters, and I am happy to say that I have derived from it the knowledge of some valuable discoveries made by the learned writer.

To John Yonge Akerman, Esq., F. S. A. I feel greatly indebted for having procured me the use of a work on the coins of the Arsacidæ, written by Mr. De Bartholomæi, and published in the "Memoires de la Société d' Archeologie et de la Numismatique de St. Petersbourg," an essay the latest and most interesting ever written on this

most remarkable series, and which from the number of hitherto unpublished specimens, and the sound and important observations on the different classifications of preceding writers, has afforded me the most valuable assistance.

To my much esteemed friend Richard Sainthill, Esq., I have to return my best thanks for various sources of information, which he has been the means of opening to me, his partiality for and attention to Oriental coins of every series, having brought him into close correspondence with all the most talented and eminent writers in Oriental literature, their assistance has either directly or through his medium been in many instances availed of in composing this work.

To Colonel Chesney, the distinguished Commander and Director of the Euphrates Expedition, I beg to return my warmest thanks, for his kindness in submitting to my inspection the Parthian coins in his collection, a few of which I had never found in any other cabinet, and which appear in the Plates to this work.

To Rev. William C. Neligan, L.L.D., I am much indebted for the rare tetradrachm of Arsaces XXII., engraved in Pl. 6, No. 19, of this work.

To Thomas Tobin, Esq., J.P., Ballincollig, I feel much obliged for the inspection of several rare Parthian coins in his cabinet, and which furnished drawings for this work.

To Lieut.-Col. William Yorke Moore, 54th Regiment, I am indebted for the inspection of his Parthian coins, which he most kindly sent to me, and which included some I had not met with in any other cabinet.

To Richard Caulfield, Esq., Cork, I feel much obliged for his opinion on some difficult and disputed passages from Greek and Roman authors.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Londesborough, Rev. Dr. Hincks, George Sparkes, Esq., Bromley, Kent; Edward Thomas, Esq., Bengal Civil Service; Thomas Burgon, Esq., British Museum; William B. Dickenson, Esq., Leamington, Warwickshire; William H. Scott, Esq., Edinburgh; ———Doubleday, Esq., British Museum; Harry Osborne Cureton, Esq., 20, River Street, Pentonville; C. R. Taylor, Esq., 2, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden; William Webster, Esq., 17, Great Russell Street, Covent Garden; and Peter J. Whelan, Esq.. 43, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London; I am indebted for coins, notices of coins, and various communications connected with this work.

HISTORY OF THE PARTHIANS.

BEFORE we proceed to an examination of the coins of the Parthian Kings, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to exhibit a short view of the history of these princes, who for so many centuries acted so very important and prominent a part, and contested with the Romans during the period of their greatest power, the sovereignty of Asia; and a sketch of their history in this work will be considered the more necessary, inasmuch as we possess no complete history of this kingdom, and the chief authorities we have to refer to on the subject, are the Roman writers whose accounts principally relate to those transactions in which both nations were concerned.

The only modern writer who has given us a History of this remarkable nation is Lewis,* and his accounts extracted from ancient authors are both ample and valuable, but although the early portion of his work is open to but few objections, the latter part seems very defective and in many places erroneous, as an examination of the dates on the coins of the Parthian kings is fully capable of proving.

Vaillant also has prefixed to his work on the coinage of this country a sketch of its history, but unfortunately in common with many other eminent writers, he mistook the dates which appear on these coins for those of the Parthian era, instead of that of the Seleucidæ, which the Parthians and several other nations adopted; he has therefore by adopting a system of dates differing 57 years from the true, and endeavouring to adapt those dates to the reigns of the different kings given a wrong appropriation to almost every coin of the entire series, and although his historical researches are extremely valuable, his work in a Numismatic point of view is not only utterly useless, but calculated to mislead the reader to the utmost degree.

* History of the Parthian Empire, London, 1728.

On a comparison of the scanty records we possess of this most remarkable nation, with the dates and other evidences which their extremely numerous coins exhibit, we shall find that the illustration which these dates afford to Parthian History is of a most important character, that in the later portion of the series, the commencement and termination of most of the reigns are nearly if not exactly defined by the dates which appear on them, whilst in the earlier period the monograms or initials of the numerous towns where the coins were struck, indicate the extent of the Parthian empire under its respective princes.

The applicability of this evidence I shall endeavour to show in the progress of this work.

ARSACES I.—B. C., 255.

On the death of Alexander his extensive dominions were divided amongst his generals, but of so little importance was the obscure province of Parthia then considered, that it was refused by them all, and fell to the lot of a foreign companion named Stasanor or Statanor,* who at first followed the fortunes of Eumenes, then of Antigonus, and finally those of Seleucus, to whom and to his successors Antiochus I. and II., Parthia became a province. The founder of the Parthian kingdom was an individual named Arsaces, whose family and even whose country are matters of dispute, but who is generally supposed to have been either according to some a Scythian, or according to others a Bactrian,† who during the usurpation of Diodotus having espoused the cause of the Syrian king, fled on the success of the former to the governor of Parthia, called by Justin, Andragoras, but by other historians by the various names of Pericles and Agathocles.

This governor having offered an insult to Tiridates, the brother of Arsaces was slain by them, on which after having driven out the Macedonians, they renounced their allegiance to the Syrian monarch, and Arsaces from whom all the succeeding kings of Parthia were called Arsacidæ assumed the government, although it is generally supposed that his brother and successor Tiridates was the first of the Parthian monarchs who took the title of king.

This event occurred in the year before the Christian era, 255, and in the year of Rome, 498, when Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Atilius Regulus were consuls.‡

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* Justin, B. 41, C. 4. † Strabo, B. 11. ‡ Justin, B. 41, C. 4.

The reign of this prince lasted only two years, during which no event of importance appears to have occurred, but although Parthia was at this time of but small extent, it contained some cities of note, particularly Hecatompylos,* built by the Macedonians, and which was at first the residence of the Parthian kings.

ARSACES II.—TIRIDATES—B. C., 253—216.

On the death of Arsaces, his brother Tiridates succeeded, taking also the name of Arsaces as did all his successors.

The reign of this prince except for a short time in the earlier part of it when his kingdom was overrun by Seleucus II., was extremely prosperous, the dissensions between the kings of Syria and Egypt affording him opportunity both of strengthening and extending his kingdom.

Amongst others he built the city of Dara, of which Justin gives rather a magnificent account, but attributes the foundation of it to the first Arsaces, whose actions as Lewis has justly observed, he mixes up with those of his successor. The city was built on the mountain Zapaortenon, and remarkable for its almost inaccessible situation, the abundance of wood and water in its vicinity, and the extent of its hunting grounds. His first conquest was the neighbouring kingdom of Hyrcania, which an alliance with the Bactrian king Diodotus II., enabled him to retain, the joint forces of these two princes under Arsaces, having defeated their antagonist the Syrian king Seleucus II. He next turned his attention towards Media, and after a struggle with Seleucus, in which that prince was defeated and taken prisoner, he possessed himself of the greater part of that extensive and important country, including the Macedonian cities of Apamea, Laodicea, and Rhagæ.

The magnanimity of this king so unusual amongst Asiatic princes in these barbarous ages was proved by his treatment of his royal prisoner, whom he maintained in a manner becoming the state of a great king, and according to some authors gave him his liberty to return to Syria ; Seleucus, however it is agreed on by all was killed by a fall from his horse, and was succeeded by his son Seleucus III. (Ceraunus,) who being poisoned by his generals about two years after, was succeeded by his brother Antiochus III., (the Great,) whose actions are so closely connected with those of Artabanus the successor of Tiridates.

Tiridates after a long and glorious reign of according to most writers, 37 years, died in peace, leaving the crown to his son Artabanus I.

* Strabo, B. 11.

ARSACES III.—ARTABANUS I.—B. C., 216—196.

The precise year when Artabanus ascended the throne seems to be a matter of uncertainty. M. Lenormant following Eusebius, fixes it at 210, B.C., on the supposition that the 37 years generally assigned as the length of Tiridates's reign, should be computed from the time when he assumed the title of king, whilst Vaillant and most other writers dating the reign of Tiridates from the death of his brother, fix it at 216.

The latter calculation seems by far the most probable. In the chronology of the early Parthian kings but few certain points occur, they are simply the Revolt of Arsaces I. in 255, B. C., the Treaty between Arsaces III. and Antiochus III. in 207, the taking of Babylon by Arsaces VI. in 153; and the defeat and death of Arsaces VII. in battle against the Scythians in 126. It is generally admitted that the great contest between Artabanus and Antiochus lasted for five years, and as the treaty just noticed took place in 207, B. C., it would follow that the accession of Artabanus could not have taken place at a later period than 212, and as it does not appear that the war between Antiochus and Artabanus commenced immediately after the accession of the latter, I have little hesitation in agreeing with those who fix on 216 as the commencement of this reign.

Artabanus received his kingdom in a state of profound peace, but he was soon called on to defend himself against a most powerful enemy, and the even nature of the contest proves that even at this early period of Parthian history, the strength and resources of this kingdom were far from despicable.*

The conquest of Media by Tiridates the father of Artabanus seems to have afforded Antiochus the Syrian king a substantial pretext for this invasion, which however, had for its object the recovery of all the countries (including Parthia itself,) which had revolted from Syria. Artabanus supposed at first that Antiochus would not proceed farther than Ecbatana,† the capital of Media, but was surprised

* Justin, B. 41., C. 5., says that the army of Antiochus, with which he invaded Parthia, consisted of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse. Lewis, however commits a most remarkable mistake in assigning this force to Artabanus, and in this he is followed by M. Bartholomaei, both probably being misled by Vaillant, who in one place (p. 27,) reads the words of Justin, "Arsaces adversum Antiochum centum millibus peditum et viginti millibus equitum *instructus* mira virtute pugnavit." Vaillant, however in the prefatory annals (p. 5.) reads the word correctly *instructum*, which agrees with the general reading in Justin, and completely alters the sense of the passage, attaching the amount of forces to Antiochus, and not to Artabanus.

† Polybius, (B. 10, Ex. 4.,) gives us a high idea of the importance of Media, a country which we

to find that he entered the desert beyond it, and appeared determined to possess himself of even Parthia itself. In this desert tract no water is ever seen above the surface of the ground, but by the policy of the Persians, its former governors who conferred the ground for three generations on those who introduced water into it, it abounded with subterraneous wells and streams known only to the inhabitants, and Arsaces on hearing of the advance of Antiochus immediately ordered these wells to be broken and filled up.

Antiochus, however having sent forward Nicomedes, one of his generals with 1,000 horse, the small force to whom Arsaces committed this duty were forced to retreat, and Antiochus immediately advanced to Hecatompylos an important city situated in the midst of Parthia, and which derived its name from the great number of roads which from its central situation approached it from all sides.

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shall often have occasion to notice, and its capital Ecbatana. He says, " Media is the most powerful of all the kingdoms of Asia, whether we consider the extent of the country or the number and goodness of the men, and also of the horses produced there. For these animals are found in it in such plenty, that almost all the rest of Asia is supplied with them from this province. It is here also that the Royal horses are always fed on account of the excellence of the pasture.

The whole borders of the province are covered with Grecian cities, built as a check upon the neighbouring barbarians after the country had been subdued by Alexander. Ecbatana only is not one of these. This city stands on the north side of Media, and commands all that part of Asia, which lies along the Mœotis and the Euxine sea. It was even from the most ancient times the seat of the Royal residence, and seems in splendour and magnificence very greatly to have exceeded all other cities. It is built on the declivity of the mountain Orontes, and not inclosed with any walls, but there is a citadel in it, the fortifications of which are of the most wonderful strength, and below it stands the Palace of the Persian kings. With respect to other particulars I am in doubt whether I should speak or be entirely silent. To those who love exaggeration, and to strike their readers with something wonderful in their descriptions, this city would afford ample matter for such digression, but others who go not without great diffidence into things that exceed the common apprehension will for this reason be the more perplexed ; thus much however, I shall say. The Palace contained 7 stadia (840 paces) in circumference, and the magnificence of the structure in every part, was such as must have raised a very high idea of the wealth and power of those who built it ; for though the wood was all of cedar or of cypress, no part of it was left naked ; but the beams, the roofs, and the peristyles were all covered, some with plates of silver, and some of gold, the tiles likewise were all of silver. The greatest part of these riches were carried away by the Macedonians who attended Alexander, and the rest were pillaged in the reigns of Antigonus and Seleucus. At this time however, when Antiochus arrived, there were still remaining in the temple of Aena, some pillars cased with gold, and a large quantity of silver tiles laid together in a heap. There were also some few wedges of gold, and a much greater number of silver. These were now coined into money with the Royal stamp, and amounted to the sum of almost 4,000 Talents, (about £775,000)." Hampton's Polybius, B. 10., p. 192.

Here he allowed his army some time to rest, and calculating that if Arsaces was inclined to venture on a battle he would have made a stand at this place, he hesitated not to advance towards Hyrcania, he was encountered however by Artabanus, but the Parthians after a severe struggle finding that the light armed troops of Antiochus had occupied the eminences in their rear fled with precipitation, and Antiochus advanced to Tambrace, the capital of Parthia Proper, which not being protected by walls, submitted to the conqueror, who then proceeded against Syrinx a fortified city, and considered as the capital of Hyrcania.

The siege of this important place is detailed by Polybius,* who mentions that it was surrounded by three ditches, each of not less than 30 cubits in breadth, and 15 in depth, on the top of each a double palisade, and beyond them a strong wall, and it appears that the Parthians, although ultimately compelled to surrender, opposed for a long time a most obstinate resistance.

Of the further progress of the war between these powerful princes we have but little account, the part of Polybius which treats of it being unfortunately lost, it appears however that Artabanus was able to maintain the contest for five years, which terminated in an alliance between the two kings, who joined their forces for the purpose of invading the territories of Euthydemus, King of Bactria, who had dethroned Deidotus II., and declared himself king.

Artabanus appears to have reigned about 10 years after his alliance with Antiochus, but nothing important is recorded of the remainder of his reign, history being here particularly defective.

Armenia a country afterwards so much connected with that of Parthia, and which indeed under the powerful princes of the latter country generally formed a province of it, revolted from Syria in this reign, and Artaxias declared himself king.

ARSACES IV.—PHRAAPATIUS—196—181, B.C.

The reign of this prince is but little known, Justin,† who not recognising Arsaces I., or confounding him with his brother Tiridates, calls him the 3rd king, says he reigned 15 years, and left two sons Phrahates and Mithridates,‡ of whom the eldest Phrahates succeeded.

* B. 10, Ex. 4. † B. 41, C. 5. ‡ He left a third son Artabanus, who also possessed the throne under the name of Arsaces VIII., and he is even recognised as such by Justin, who (B. 42, C. 2.) calls him the uncle of Phrahates II., by the fathers side.

It is probable that Phraapatius was a prudent and not an ambitious prince, or we should have found more notices of him in history. His great contemporaries Antiochus the Great of Syria, and Menander and Demetrius of Bactria were all busily engaged, the first in his contest with the Romans, and the two last with their eastern conquests, and he does not appear to have entered into collision with any of them.

ARSACES. V.—PHRAHATES I.—181—173, B. C.

History has furnished us with but few particulars of the reign of this king, nor is the exact length of his reign very clearly ascertained, the commencement is indeed generally admitted to have been in 180 or 181, B. C., but a greater difference of opinion seems to exist as to its termination, some placing it at 173 and others 170 B. C.

The only event we find recorded of this short reign is his conquest of the Mardi, a warlike, but most barbarous people, inhabiting a country on the borders of Armenia and Media, living in caves dug in the sides of the mountains, and it appears from Isidore of Charax, that Phrahates caused the inhabitants of this country to be removed to Charax, near the mouth of the Tigris,* and this fact proves that the dominions of Parthia, under Phrahates, must have included the important province of Characene.

He is said to have left several sons, but they were probably very young,† as he left his kingdom to his brother Mithridates.

ARSACES VI.—MITHRIDATES I.—173—136, B. C.

We now come to the reign of a prince whose transcendent abilities, splendid conquests, and able administration of his vast dominions entitle him to the first place amongst the Parthian sovereigns, and a pre-eminence over all his contemporaries, and if his name has not in history acquired the celebrity which has been attached to his great namesake the king of Pontus, it is because the history of the

* The country of the Mardi has been placed by Ptolemy, Strabo, Q. Curtius, and others very differently, the last named author placing it in Persia, (B. 5, C. 6.) It is probable there was more than one country of that name.

† The portrait on his coins is that of a young man.

latter has been so much mixed up with that of the Romans, from whom our most copious, most authentic, and most important records of these ages are derived.

Mithridates I., the 6th king of the Arsacidæ, ascended the throne at a period peculiarly favourable for the exercise of his great abilities and ambitious projects, his two great contemporaries Antiochus IV., (Epiphanes) king of Syria, and Eucratides, king of Bactria, were both busily occupied, the former with his wars with the Jews, and the latter with his conquests of the various Indian nations which bordered his extensive dominions, and between these two theatres on which so many important actions were being exhibited, sufficient space was left for a third aspiring genius to exhibit itself in, and the opportunity was not neglected by the Parthian monarch.

At the accession of Mithridates the Parthian kingdom was of moderate extent, including Parthia Proper, a country bounded on the north by Media and Hyrcania, on the south by Persia and the desert of Carmania, on the east by Aria, and on the west by Assyria ; its greatest length probably not exceeding 400 English miles, and being about 300 in its greatest breadth, and including the cities of Tambrace, Hecatompylos, Rhagæ, Apamea Raphania, Heraclea, and Arsacia, to which may be added the greater part of Hyrcania, a small portion of Media, the country of the Mardi, and the province of Characene bordering on the Tigris.

The first quarter to which the attention of Mithridates seems to have been directed was the country of Media, at that time nearly as powerful and important as Parthia itself, and including the celebrated city of Ecbatana, and his contest with that country was for some time doubtful, but* the fortune of Mithridates finally prevailed, and Media was added to the Parthian empire, Bacasis, a Parthian nobleman being placed over it as Governor.

Mithridates next proceeded against Hyrcania, the greater portion of which had already acknowledged the Parthian kings as their rulers, but had lately revolted ; and having thoroughly subdued that country he proceeded against the kingdom of Elymais, a country not of any great extent, but of immense wealth and importance and including the great city of Seleucia.

In this country was a temple situated at Elymais or Persepolis,† dedicated to Minerva and Diana, and containing immense treasures, and we are told by Strabo‡, that it was plundered by Mithridates of 10,000 talents, equal to nearly two millions

* Justin, B. 41, C. 6. † It appears from a comparison of 1 Maccabees, C. vi., V. 1 and 2 Maccabees, C. ix., V. 2, that Elymais and Persepolis were the same city. ‡ B. 16.

of our money,* a very large sum at that time, but small if we compare it with that mentioned by Q. Curtius† to have been found there by Alexander the Great, and to have amounted to 120,000 talents, upwards of 23 millions of our money, a sum which that writer confesses to be almost beyond belief.

Having added this kingdom to his dominions, he proceeded against Babylon then subject to Syria, and that important province also submitted to him.

The kingdom of Persia next fell under his conquering hand, and its king was made tributary to Parthia, and we find that the power of Mithridates now extended from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, and from the Euphrates to the confines of the Bactrian kingdom, and we now behold him in full possession of that extensive theatre to which I have before alluded, and even encroaching on the bounds of his Syrian contemporary.

But his ambition was not yet satisfied, as indeed what conqueror has ever been content with his acquisitions, and the civil wars which now convulsed Syria, and the death of the king of Bactria who was murdered by his son, afforded him ample opportunities of interfering in the affairs of these great kingdoms, and finally the means of triumphing over both.

Under the plausible pretence of avenging the murder of Eucratides, king of Bactria, he invaded that kingdom, but was content with making the murderer tributary to him.

He then proceeded into India, subduing the country between the Indus and Hydaspes, together with the Sogdians, Arians, Drangians, and several other Indian nations, and such was his clemency and moderation, that many countries willingly submitted to him, and considered themselves fortunate in obtaining so wise and just a ruler‡ and so powerful a protector.

But whilst this great prince was extending his conquests over the nations of Eastern Asia, his Western rival the Syrian king taking advantage of his absence, and the disaffection of the Grecian subjects of Mithridates who were always discontented with their Parthian rulers, suddenly invaded his territories, and having passed the Euphrates, the Elymæans, Persians, and even the Bactrians declared

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* An attempt was a few years before made on this celebrated temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, who wanted money to carry on his wars with the Jews, 1 Maccabees, C. vi.

† B. 5, C. 6.

‡ It is recorded of him that from every conquered nation he selected such of their institutions and laws as seemed most wise and equitable, and introduced them amongst the Parthians.

for him,* the fortune of Mithridates was however still triumphant, and Demetrius the Syrian king was taken prisoner,† and the Parthian kingdom under this great prince, acquired an extent and greatness which although more or less contracted under subsequent princes, rendered Parthia for upwards of three centuries the most powerful kingdom of Asia, and even the formidable rival of the Roman Empire.

Demetrius was at first rather harshly treated by his conqueror, but afterwards as became a royal captive, Hyrcania being appointed as the place of his residence,‡ and he even received from Mithridates his daughter Rhodaguna§ in marriage, a gift even in a political point of view of perhaps rather questionable value, as Demetrius was already married to Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and his second marriage was likely to add to rather than diminish the dissensions which existed in Syria; it is probable however, that the object of Mithridates, whose ruling passion was a desire to extend his dominions, and who had promised to support Demetrius against the usurper Tryphon,|| who had seized on the Syrian throne, was by means of Demetrius's restoration to acquire the supremacy over that kingdom.

Mithridates however shortly after died, after a glorious reign of 37 years, leaving his kingdom to his son Phrahates, then probably of mature age.

Mithridates not only the greatest prince of his time, but one of the most illustrious history has presented us with, was possessed of talents not often found in the same individual, generous and magnificent, although of unbounded ambition, equally skilled in leading an army and in regulating the affairs of an empire, his extensive conquests unlike those of most princes of his time, seem to have been a benefit rather than a calamity to the nations subjected to his sway.

Many of his conquests have been by some writers supposed to be exaggerated, Mr. De Bartholomaei supposes those of Bactria, Sogdiana, and India to be particularly so, but it must be considered that the subjugation of many of these countries was only temporary, and that their permanent possession was much more difficult to secure, and in those unsettled times could only be effected by a prince of the same abilities as him by whom they were originally subdued, whilst some of them from their remote situation could scarcely be retained under any circumstances; we find accordingly that under his more feeble and incompetent successors a great

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* Justin, B. 36, C. 1. † Josephus, B. 13, C. 5, S. 11. ‡ Justin, B. 36, C. 1.

§ Probably so called from the rosy colour of her hair or complexion. || Justin, B. 38, C. 9.

portion of these splendid conquests were at different times wrested from them, and although under many of his ablest successors, the most valuable of them were either retained or recovered, not one of them subdued or possessed the same extent of territory.

ARSACES VII.—PHRAHATES II.—136—126, B. C.

It has been well observed by Mr. De Bartholomaei, that of all the great qualities possessed by Mithridates, his son Phrahates inherited only his military, and that his character was hard and cold, and his policy crafty and without dignity.

At the time of the death of Mithridates, Demetrius the captive king of Syria was as will be recollected still detained in a kind of honorable custody in Hyrcania, whilst his marriage with Rhodaguna was the means of rendering his cause in Syria still more desperate, for his wife Cleopatra who seems to have been possessed of much influence in Syria, incensed at the conduct of Demetrius in taking another wife, offered her hand and interest to Antiochus his brother, and her offer was accepted.

In the mean time Demetrius despairing of his release from captivity which the late king Mithridates had promised him,* meditated escaping into his own kingdom, which with the assistance of his friend Callimander he shortly attempted, but Phrahates having by a shorter road sent a body of horsemen in pursuit of him, he was captured and brought before the king, who with a degree of generosity scarcely consistent with the character this prince has obtained, not only pardoned Callimander, but even rewarded him for his fidelity to his friend, with Demetrius however, he dealt more rigorously, committing him to a closer degree of custody.

After a short time Demetrius taking advantage of some relaxation in the strictness of his confinement, again with the same friend as a companion attempted to escape, but was again captured and sent back to his wife and children, and Phrahates seems to have entertained such a contempt for him, that according to Justin† he presented him in ridicule of his childish levity with golden dice,‡ but as Justin well observes, this clemency was not exercised towards him either through pity or respect for his relationship, but because the Parthians aspired to the kingdom of Syria, and purposed to make use of Demetrius against his brother Antiochus as opportunity might offer.

* Justin, B. 38, C. 9. † B. 38, C. 9. ‡ Lewis, p. 38, inaccurately translates the words "talis aureis," golden chains.

Antiochus in the meantime having strengthened his interests by his marriage with Cleopatra, and recovered most of the cities which had revolted, under the pretence of liberating his brother Demetrius invaded Parthia, and the wealth and resources of these countries, and the luxury which prevailed amongst them will appear from the description given by Justin,* who mentions that the army of Antiochus 80,000 strong, was attended by 300,000 camp followers, of which the greater number were cooks, bakers, and stage players,† and gold was in such abundance that even the common soldiers studded their buskins with it, and as that author observes, trod on that metal for the love of which people fight with iron ; their culinary utensils also, as if they were proceeding to a feast and not to a battle, were of silver.

On the approach of Antiochus, many eastern kings met him, placing themselves and their kingdoms at his disposal, with execrations of the pride of the Parthians. Three victories‡ gained over the Parthians, placed Antiochus in possession of Babylon, and the affairs of the Parthian king seemed desperate. Phrahates however was not without his resources, and Parthian cunning so often successful was now put in practice.

His first act was to liberate Demetrius and send him into Syria with a Parthian guard to occupy that kingdom to the exclusion of Antiochus, and his next to attack in detail the Syrian army now gone into winter quarters in the principal towns where their oppression of the inhabitants rendered them ready instruments of the Parthian policy. Accordingly on a day appointed a simultaneous and successful attack was made on the Syrian garrison, and Antiochus hastening with the forces he had with him to the assistance of those nearest to him, was encountered by the Parthian king, defeated and slain.§

Amongst the captives was found a niece of Antiochus, the daughter of Demetrius, and Phrahates attracted it is said by her beauty, but probably equally influenced by political motives married her.

Shortly after these occurrences, Phrahates desirous of revenge for the invasion of his kingdom by Antiochus,|| for which the ambitious attempt of Demetrius on the kingdom of Egypt afforded a most favorable opportunity, proceeded to invade

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* B. 38, C. 10. † Orosius says, 100,000 armed men and 200,000 camp followers, &c.

‡ Other writers mention only one, and that Phrahates afterwards gained another.

§ Writers differ as to the manner in which this king died ; some relating that he was killed in battle, others that he slew himself or threw himself from a precipice. || Justin, B. 42, C. 1.

Syria, but was immediately recalled by the inroads of the Scythians, naturally the enemies of Parthia, but a large body of whom Phrahates had hired to assist him against Antiochus.

These mercenaries not having made their appearance until the war was over, Phrahates refused them either their promised hire, or to lead them against some other enemies, on which taking their redress into their own hands they proceeded to ravage the Parthian territories.

Whatever abilities Phrahates possessed were certainly, as I have before observed, of a military order, his actions in other respects were but a series of blunders ; when setting out on his expedition against the Scythians, he appointed as his Viceroy one of his favorites Hymerus, an Hyrcanian, by whose tyranny, luxury, and extravagance the provinces he ruled over were dreadfully oppressed; besides raising exorbitant taxes, this tyrannical Viceroy committed many enormities, making slaves of numbers of the Babylonians, whom he sent into Media, and burning the market place and several temples and buildings of that great city,* as well as oppressing many others.† Even in the wars which Phrahates conducted, a wretched and mistaken policy seems to have actuated him, and as in his wars with Syria, he had employed as mercenaries his hereditary enemies the Scythians, he now in those with the Scythians committed a similar mistake, having forced the Grecian captives taken in his war with Antiochus, and whom he had treated most cruelly, to join his ranks, and the consequences were such as might have been expected, for when in the battle with the enemy, the Parthian line began to waver, these Greek mercenaries joined the Scythians, and the Parthians were defeated with great slaughter, and Phrahates himself slain after a troublesome, and eventful but not very glorious reign of about 10 years.

ARSACES VIII.—ARTABANUS II.—126—123, B. C.

This prince was the brother of Mithridates I. and uncle to the late king,‡ and must have been very old when he ascended the throne to which he was probably raised on account of the nonage of the sons of the late king and the confused state

* A story is told by Posidonius and quoted by Lewis, p. 42, of the luxury and extravagance encouraged by this tyrant, where one Lysimachus invited Hymerus and 300 other guests to supper, and presented to each of them the silver cups weighing 4lb. each in which they had drunk.

† Justin, B. 42, C. 1.

‡ Justin, B. 42, C. 2.

of the Parthian empire, a portion of which was overrun by the Scythians, whilst Hymerus who had played so remarkable a part during the late reign, had set up for himself and laid claim to the Parthian crown.

This king who probably possessed some military talents and commanded his army in person, had many engagements with the Scythians, but at last was wounded in the arm, of which he shortly died.

The length of his reign which was troublesome and warlike is somewhat uncertain, but it was probably about three years. The death of Phrahates II., being one of the known points in the history of the Parthians, the date of Artabanus's accession is known to be 126, B.C., but authors are by no means agreed as to the period of his death ; Lewis and Vaillant estimate the length of his reign at three years, whilst Mr. De Bartholomaei has extended it to six years. The numerous specimens of that class of Drachms, which the last named learned writer has conjectured to belong to this prince, and which I with less hesitation have assigned to him, would lead us to suppose that his reign was of much longer duration than three years, but I am rather inclined to think that he could not have reigned much longer.

ARSACES IX.—MITHRIDATES II.—123—87, B.C.

This great prince was the son of the late Artabanus, and the great talents he possessed were immediately called into action by the critical state of the empire to which he had succeeded.

The Parthian empire was indeed in a complete state of dissolution, and almost reduced within its original boundaries, Hymerus having usurped a large portion of it, whilst the Scythians and Armenians extended their ravages over its northern frontier.

Having compelled Hymerus to return to his allegiance, he proceeded against the Scythians whom he defeated in several battles, and became as Justin* terms it, "the avenger of his parent's wrongs."

He next turned his attention to the encroachments of the Armenians who under Artoadistes their king, had become very powerful and independent of the Parthian monarch.

The populous and important kingdom of Armenia destined from this period to exercise so great an influence on the affairs of central Asia, the right arm of Parthia

* B. 42, C. 2.

under the powerful princes of that empire, and an appanage for the younger members of the Arsacidæ, but always ready to avail itself of the weakness of its Parthian master, was of great extent, being at least 600 miles in length and nearly 400 in breadth,* and from its situation between Asia Minor, Syria, and Parthia, commanding the communications between these most important countries.

The contest between Parthia and Armenia was not soon terminated, and on the death of Artoadistes was continued by his son Tigranes the elder, who after some time was obliged to submit to Mithridates, and deliver up to him as a hostage, his son Tigranes the younger, afterwards king of Syria, and one of the most able and powerful princes of his time.†

After the death of Tigranes the elder, however, the Armenians jealous of their independence refused to acknowledge the son of their late monarch on the ground that he was a hostage, and in the power of the Parthians, but the young prince supported by Mithridates, to whom he had promised to give up a part of Armenia, containing 70 vallies,‡ was restored to his kingdom. Taking advantage however, of the troubles in which Parthia was still involved, he not only seized on the territory he had made over to that kingdom, but possessed himself of a portion of Armenia, over which he had not hitherto exercised jurisdiction,§ and was now master of the entire of that important country.

We next find Mithridates taking part in the civil wars which agitated Syria, where Antiochus Eusebes, contended for the crown with Philip and Demetrius, the sons of Antiochus Grypus, and in this struggle Antiochus being defeated, took refuge with Mithridates, and was afterwards by that monarch restored to a part of his dominions.

In the meantime, however, Philip engaged in a struggle with his brother Demetrius, and was besieged by him in Berea, when the Parthian general and some Arab tribes coming to the assistance of Philip, Demetrius was defeated, and taken prisoner by the Parthians, and sent to Mithridates, who treated him in an honorable manner, but his captivity was soon after terminated by his death.||

The troubles which so long agitated the Syrian kingdom were at last terminated by Tigranes who embraced so favorable an opportunity to place himself on the throne of the Seleucidæ.

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* Justin, B. 42, C. 2, says 1100 miles in length and 700 in breadth, but as his annotator observes that estimate is too great. † Lewis, p. 47. ‡ Strabo, B. 11. § Strabo, B. 11.

|| Josephus, Antiq. B. 13, C. 14, S. 3.

We now arrive at a period when as Plutarch * observes, the first intercourse took place between the Parthians and Romans.

Sylla on the expiration of his Prætorship, 87, B.C., was sent into Cappadocia, under the pretence of restoring Ariobarzanes to his kingdom, but in reality to check the growing power of Mithridates, the great king of Pontus ; this he shortly accomplished, and in his Asiatic campaign advanced as far as the Euphrates ; here he was waited on by Orobazus, the ambassador of the Parthian king, who sought the friendship and alliance of Rome. At this interview Sylla ordering three chairs to be set, placed himself in the centre between Ariobarzanes and Orobazus, and in this manner gave audience ; the Parthian king, however, was so incensed at Orobazus having degraded the dignity of his master that he ordered him to be put to death.

At this interview a certain Chalcidian of Orobazus's retinue, is said to have observed that it was impossible for Sylla not to be the greatest man, or rather a wonder that he was not even then so.

After this interview between the Romans and Parthians, we find no event recorded of Mithridates, and it is probable that he died soon after, having reigned with great glory and prosperity over the Parthian empire, and recovered a large portion of the provinces possessed by his great predecessor and uncle Mithridates I., to whom alone of all the Parthian kings, he may be considered as inferior in abilities and renown ; as a warrior he was probably equal to that great prince, but inferior in some of those numerous great qualities for which we find the first Mithridates so eminent.

ARSACES X.—MNASKIRES, 87—77, B.C.

Hitherto the succession of the Parthian princes, although frequently deviating from the direct line has been unaccompanied by those disputes, for which other countries, and particularly the neighbouring one of Syria, have been so remarkable, and the peculiar situation of Parthia, surrounded on every side by powerful enemies always ready to take advantage of the weakness or incapacity of its princes, and the nature of its constitution, which under the early princes was almost an elective monarchy, will account for the brother so frequently succeeding in preference to the children of the deceased monarch, whenever the latter were unfit from their age to take the reigns of government.

* Plutarch in Sylla.

We now arrive at a period, when the pretensions of two branches of the royal family for the first time in Parthian History became the subject of dispute, but so few and so obscure are the remaining records of this period, that we know little more than the names of the competitors, and are not even perfectly acquainted with their degrees of relationship to the monarch who preceded them.

It is generally supposed that Mnaskires was the son of Phrahates I., and Sinatroces, the son of Mithridates I., and brother of Phrahates II., and the great age attributed to the former at the time of his accession would well agree with the degree of relationship to Phrahates I., which has been assigned him; the pedigree of his competitor Sinatroces is less certain, having no other support than modern conjecture, but the supposition that he was the second son of Mithridates I., is not improbable, particularly as he was said to be 80 years of age at his succession, and we know that during his short reign he associated his son Phrahates III., with him in the government, it is possible however, that he might have been the grandson of Mithridates I., and possibly the son of Phrahates II., (whose sons were at the time of their fathers death, said to have been too young to take the reins of government,) a circumstance the more likely, as the eldest son and successor of Sinatroces was also called Phrahates; in any of the cases we have supposed, he could scarcely have been less than from 50 to 60 years of age at his accession.

Mnaskires having gained the upper hand in the struggle, reigned about ten or eleven years, but of the events of his reign we have few particulars, we only know that Tigranes, king of Syria, taking advantage of the civil wars in Parthia, stripped that country of some of her most valuable provinces.* He died according to Lucian at the great age of 96.

ARSACES XI., SINATROCES—77—70, B.C.

On the death of Mnaskires, his rival Sinatroces, who had taken refuge in Scythia, was now called to the throne, but little is known of the history of this

* Lucullus is represented by Plutarch, as calling Tigranes "that king of kings who by his power has dissolved the Parthian empire in Asia, brought several Greek towns under the Median yoke, conquered Syria and Palestine, extinguished the royal line of Seleucus, and carried away their wives and daughters into captivity."

prince, and even his name is a subject of dispute, some writers calling him Sinatroces, others Sintrices, but more generally he is called Sinatroces.

This king at his accession is said to have been 80 years of age, and finding the cares of government, particularly in the then depressed state of the Parthian empire, too heavy for his advanced age, he associated with himself in the empire his son Phrahates, in whom he probably even at that period recognised the great abilities for which that prince was afterwards so distinguished, and made him general of his army.

His first efforts were directed against Tigranes who held some of the most valuable of the north western provinces of the empire, but they were unsuccessful as indeed might be expected from the overwhelming power of that ambitious prince then, except Mithridates king of Pontus, the most powerful in the world.

The reign of Sinatroces was short, being generally estimated and I believe correctly at seven years, and he was succeeded by his son and partner in the kingdom Phrahates III.

ARSACES XII.—PHRAHATES III.—70—60, B.C.

We now arrive at a period of Parthian history, when the important part taken by the Romans in the affairs of Asia brought them for almost the first time into contact with the Parthians, and to this cause we are indebted for the abundant records now furnished by the Roman writers of the transactions of this and most of the subsequent reigns.

Phrahates III., was possessed of abilities of a very high order, but his genius was rather of a political than a warlike character, and peculiarly fitted for the direction of a country placed as Parthia then was in a very difficult position from the contest between the Romans and the kings Mithridates of Pontus and Tigranes of Armenia and Syria, by all of whom the alliance of Phrahates was courted,* Tigranes offering him Mesopotamia and Adiabene, if he would support him and Mithridates against the Romans, whilst the Roman general Lucullus both threatened and promised largely ; the Parthian king, however as Lewis † has observed, promised both parties, but kept his word with neither.

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* We have a fragment of Sallust which contains a long letter from the great king of Pontus to Phrahates, in which he calls attention to the encroaching spirit of the Romans, and the necessity for the princes of Asia to combine against them ; in this letter, Mithridates speaks of Phrahates as possessed of the great city of Seleucia and Lord of Persia so celebrated for its riches. † p. 63.

Lucullus,* the Roman general having in his progress arrived at the country of the Gordiænians, there stopped to celebrate the funeral of their king Zarbienus, who was put to death by Tigranes for assisting the Romans, and whilst there, ambassadors arrived from the Parthian king desiring to be received into friendship and alliance with the Romans.

These proposals were readily accepted by Lucullus, who in return sent ambassadors to Phrahates, but these on their arrival at the Parthian court, found that Phrahates was playing a double game, and that his object was to deceive the Romans, whilst he was entering into a negociation with their enemy Tigranes, for the recovery of Mesopotamia, in return for the assistance of the Parthians.

Highly incensed at such duplicity, Lucullus determined on giving up for the present his pursuit of Mithridates and Tigranes, and undertaking an expedition against Phrahates, but from a mutiny of his soldiers, he was forced to abandon his intention and again march against Tigranes; he accordingly after defeating Mithridates and Tigranes in a great battle, entered Mesopotamia, and took from Tigranes the important city of Nisibis, which that prince had formerly taken from the Parthians, but in the midst of his conquests his troops again becoming mutinous, he was recalled to Rome, and the conduct of the Mithridatic war entrusted to Pompey.†

The first care of this able general and statesman before entering on his expedition against Mithridates, was to form an alliance with Phrahates, and the policy of the latter will be better appreciated when we are informed that the power of the great Mithridates, which at the commencement of the war could command an army of 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse, was now able to muster only 30,000 foot and 2,000 horse.‡ Mithridates was, however still a formidable opponent, experience

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* Plutarch in Lucullo.

† Plutarch gives a description of the Triumph awarded to Lucullus, from which we may form some idea of the splendour and luxury of the Asiatic monarchs at this period. It commenced with a number of warlike machines, after which came 10 chariots armed with scythes, then followed 60 of the friends and officers of the conquered kings, after them were drawn 110 galleys with brazen beaks, then followed a statue of Mithridates in solid gold, with a helmet covered with precious stones, next 20 pageants born on men's shoulders and covered with silver vessels, and 32 others filled with vessels and armour of gold and gold coin. In the rear came 8 mules laden with couches of gold, and 56 with silver bullion, followed by 157 more with the silver coin, amounting to 2,700,000 drachmæ, (about £90,000 sterling,) exclusive of which it appeared by the register tables also carried in procession, that he had given as a donative to the army, 950 drachms, £31 13s. 4d. to each soldier. ‡ Plutarch in Pomp.

in some degree supplying his deficiency in actual strength, and we accordingly find him for a considerable time able to elude the superior forces of Pompey, he was however ultimately defeated, but made his escape with 800 horse, with which he cut his way through the Roman army and proceeded to join Tigranes, but that base and crafty prince not only refused to receive him but set a reward of 100 talents on his head, and Mithridates was forced to fly into Colchis.

Pompey now entered Armenia, relying on the support of Phrahates and his sons-in-law, the younger Tigranes and his brother Sariaster, who appear to have taken refuge at the Parthian court, from a dread of their father's cruelty, who had put his two elder sons to death.

Pompey being joined by the younger Tigranes, reduced all the cities of Armenia in his way,* so that the elder Tigranes was forced to throw himself on the clemency of Pompey, who allowed him on paying a fine of 6,000 talents, to remain in possession of such part of his extensive dominions, as had not been taken from him by Lucullus, and conferred on his son the younger Tigranes the kingdom of Sophene ; the latter was however, so much offended at the favor shewn to his father, that he talked openly of deserting Pompey, who immediately threw him into prison and reserved him for his triumph.

The Parthian king, who with all his political manœuvres found the Roman army coming too near him, whilst his rival Tigranes was reinstated in his kingdom of Armenia, and his ally and son-in-law the younger Tigranes was made prisoner, now thought it time to put on a bold appearance, and sent an embassy to Pompey demanding the release of the younger Tigranes, and requiring that the river Euphrates should be considered as the bounds of the Roman conquests, but to these demands, Pompey answered that Tigranes belonged more to his own father than to his father-in-law, and as to his conquests he would give such bounds to them as were agreeable to reason and justice.

It does not appear however that Pompey had much desire to try his strength with Phrahates on his own ground, for leaving Afranius to preserve the conquests he had made he proceeded against Mithridates, who was now with the nations beyond Mount Caucasus.

* Of these the Albanians and Iberians were the chief, the latter lying near Pontus, the former more eastward towards the Caspian Sea.

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* Plutarch in Pomp. † Plutarch in Pomp.

The Albanians at first permitted Pompey to pass through their country, but taking advantage of the winter and the celebration of the festival of Saturn, in which the Romans were engaged, they mustered an army of 40,000 men, and passed the river Cyrus, which Pompey permitting without opposition, they were encountered by that general and totally routed.

Pompey yielding to the supplications of their king, pardoned them, and taking them into his alliance marched against the Iberians, who were determined supporters of Mithridates, and very powerful and independent, never having been subdued by the Medes, Persians, or Macedonians, and in a decisive battle he subdued them, killing 9,000 of them, and taking 10,000 prisoners.

His new allies the Albanians however, taking advantage of his absence, revolted and drew up in order of battle to oppose him with a force, which Plutarch states to be 60,000 horse, and 12,000 foot, but Strabo with probably greater accuracy 60,000, of whom 22,000 were cavalry.*

These he defeated, killing with his own hand Cosis their king, who furiously singled out Pompey, and rushing on him, darted his javelin into the joints of his breast plate, but Pompey, who was probably indebted for his life to the goodness of his armour ran the Albanian king through the body with his lance.

After this Pompey proceeding for three days in a south eastern direction, found the country so infested with venemous serpents, that he retreated into Armenia Minor, where he gave audience to the ambassadors of the kings of the Medes and Elymœans, but sent an army under Afranius against the Parthian king, who invaded Gorduene, one of the provinces of Tigranes, and the Parthians were routed and driven back as far as Arbelitis.†

By these successes Pompey was according to Plutarch so elated, that in his letter to Phrahates, he would not condescend to give him as others did his title of king of kings.‡

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* The words of Strabo are, "οπλιζουσι γαρ και ἐξ μυριαδας ἀνδρῶν ιππεας δε δισμυριους και δισχιλιους οσοις προς Πομπειον εκινδυνευσαν," "for they have in arms 60,000 men and 22,000 horsemen, with which forces they engaged in conflict with Pompey" and that writer may probably have intended to include the horsemen amongst the 60,000. † Plutarch in Pomp.

‡ This passage of Plutarch is a strong proof of the correctness of the attribution of the coins generally given to Arsaces XII., as on them the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ for the first time appears since the reign of Arsaces VI. M. Lenormant is almost the only Numismatist of eminence who assigns these coins to Arsaces XIII., but M. de Bartholomæi justly refuses to adopt that attribution.

Phrahates taking advantage of Pompey's being engaged in Syria, again invaded Armenia,* and although repulsed in one or two engagements, he at last overcame Tigranes, and compelled him to apply to Pompey for assistance ; the latter, however, seems to have been always most reluctant to come to close quarters with Phrahates, and even gave as an excuse that he had no express command from the Roman people to invade Parthia, an excuse which he never thought of pleading, whenever he had the power to subdue.†

* Dion Cassius, B. 37.

† The magnificent triumph awarded to Pompey, displayed the spoils of the following kingdoms, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Commagene, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Arabia, but none from Parthia. Plutarch in Pomp.

A more particular account of this triumph is given by Appian, in his Mithridatic War, (fol. 252), and from its splendour and extent we may have some idea of the importance of Parthia, the only country the Romans were then afraid to attack. It lasted two days, and amongst the waggon loads of gold and ornaments appeared the Couch of Darius Hystaspis, the throne and sceptre of Mithridates Eupator, and a golden bust eight feet high of that distinguished monarch, and of coined money 70,000,510 drachmæ, (upwards of 2,000,000 sterling), besides which Pompey had the preceding winter distributed amongst his soldiers 1,500 Attic drachmæ to each soldier, and a proportional sum to the tribunes and centurions, making altogether about 16,000 talents, (about two millions sterling), after these a multitude of captives and pirates not bound and habited in the dresses of their country, and there preceded Pompey himself, the sons, generals, and nobles of the conquered kings, amounting to 324, and amongst them Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, the five sons of Mithridates, Artaphernes, Cyrus, Orathres, Darius and Xerxes, and his daughters Orsabaris and Eupatra, there were also Olthaces, king of Colchis, and Aristobulus, king of Judæa, also the Tyrants of Cilicia, and the Royal women of the Scythians, three generals of the Iberians, and two of the Albanians, with Menander of Laodicea, who commanded the cavalry of Mithridates. The effigies of the absent monarchs Mithridates and Tigranes were also carried, representing them in the attitudes of fighting, yielding and flying ; there was also a representation of the attack on Mithridates and his nocturnal and silent flight, and finally of his death, and of the virgins who were the companions of his death. There were also carried the pictures of his children of both sexes, who had died before him, and the images of the Gods of the Barbarians in the dress of the country. There was also carried an inscription in these words " Of ships with beaks there were taken 800, of cities founded, 8 in Cappadocia, 20 in Cilicia and Cælesyria, in Palestine Seleucis, and of kings conquered, Tigranes of Armenia, Artoces of Hiberia, Orezes of Albania, Darius of Media, Aretas of Nabatæa, Antiochus of Commagene ; Pompey himself was carried in a chariot adorned with gems, and clad it is said in the chlamys of Alexander of Macedon, (if as Appian says, we may credit the account), which appears to have been found amongst the household effects of Mithridates, and received by that monarch from the inhabitants of Cos, amongst the property of Cleopatra.

On their arrival at the capitol he put none of the captives to death, as the heroes of other triumphs used to do, but sent every one of them to their own country at the public expense, except the Royal captives, of whom alone Aristobulus was afterwards put to death, and after him Tigranes, as Appian informs us, but according to other writers he seems to have made his escape.

Tigranes therefore finding himself unsupported by Pompey, entered into a treaty of peace with Phrahates.

After this no remarkable events are recorded of the reign of this king, except that he was murdered by his sons Mithridates and Orodes, after a reign of about 10 years.

Amongst the many able kings who filled the Parthian throne, but few exceeded this prince in prudence and political abilities ; opposed as he was to two of the ablest of the Roman conquerors who invaded Asia, and often beset with dangers and difficulties of the most formidable description, he continued to surmount them all, and not only to preserve the dominions transmitted to him by his ancestors, but even to add to them, whilst at the same time he kept the greater part of his extensive territories in a state of profound peace.

ARSACES XIII.—MITHRIDATES III.—60—54, B.C.

The fortunes of the Parthians now become of a more chequered description, and civil wars, and fierce contests with the increasing power of Rome, fill with little intermission the pages of their history.

Mithridates III., the eldest son of Phrahates now assumed the reins of government, and Tigranes the elder having died, and his eldest son Tigranes being still a captive in Rome, Artavasdes the younger brother of the latter seized on the kingdom of Armenia.

Tigranes having shortly after effected his escape, applied to his brother-in-law the Parthian king for assistance, which was granted, and Mithridates in person invaded Armenia, he was however, soon recalled to oppose the pretensions of his brother Orodes, who taking advantage of the absence of Mithridates, attempted to possess himself of the Parthian throne.

Tigranes thus abandoned by his ally, was forced to give up the kingdom of Armenia to Artavasdes, whilst Orodes was at the same time obliged to yield to Mithridates ; the cruelty however, with which he revenged himself on the supporters of his brother so roused the indignation of the Parthians, that the States, or as Justin* calls them, the Senate by a public decree dethroned him, and Orodes was elected in his place, Surena, one of the chiefs of the nobles, who is said to have inherited the honor of crowning the Parthian kings, placing the Royal diadem on his head.

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* Justin, B. 42, C. 4.

Orodes wishing to disarm in some degree the hostility of his brother Mithridates gave him the government of Media,* in which was situated the great city of Ecbatana, the summer residence of the Parthian kings ; this concession, however by no means satisfied Mithridates, who raising an army, again attempted to recover the throne, but being routed by Orodes was compelled to take refuge with Gabinius, the Roman Pro-consul of Syria.

This general who was at that time preparing for an expedition against the Arabians promised his assistance, and had even passed the Euphrates in his march against Orodes, when he was met by Ptolemy Auletes, the deposed king of Egypt,† who promised him 10,000 talents for his assistance in recovering his kingdom. These offers Gabinius was not much inclined to accept, and most of his officers were also against it,‡ but the interest of Marc Anthony then serving in the Roman army prevailed, and Mithridates disappointed of the assistance of the Romans, was forced to fly into Mesopotamia, where the Arabians settled in that country by Tigranes espoused his cause, and the great cities of Seleucia and Babylon naturally hostile to the Parthians also declared for him.

On receiving intelligence of these proceedings, Orodes collected a large army which he divided into two parts, one of which under his great general Surena, he sent to besiege Seleucia, and with the other he proceeded against Babylon, which was defended by Mithridates himself; the former was soon stormed by Surena, but Babylon held out for a long time, but was at last reduced by famine to surrender, and Mithridates was put to death by order, and in the presence of his brother.§

The reader must have noticed the atrocious crimes committed by the Parthian and Armenian rulers during this period of Asiatic history ; in Armenia the younger Tigranes attempting to dethrone his father, whilst his own right was afterwards actually usurped by his younger brother Artavasdes, and in Parthia, the still more atrocious spectacle of a king murdered by his sons, whilst the eldest of these sons deprived of his kingdom by his younger brother, and after recovering it again deposed by his subjects for his excessive cruelty, was himself murdered by his brother, proofs amongst many which the page of history every where exhibits, that nations as well as individuals are most cruel and unprincipled in a state of transition from a barbarous simplicity to a moral and intellectual refinement,

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* Dion Cassius, B. 39. Appian Parth, fol. 134. † Plutarch in Anton.

‡ Appian in his Parthian War, fol. 134, says Gabinius was banished by the Senate, for having undertaken a war with Egypt, which was forbidden by the Sibylline books. § Justin, B. 42, C. 4.

increased wealth and power only affording incentives to crime whilst the mind is yet unrestrained by the checks which a higher degree of civilization cannot fail to impose.

The period included between the accession of Mithridates and his death, which took place about the time Crassus commenced his expedition against Parthia, is generally estimated at about six years, but as Mr. de Bartholomæi has justly observed, the time he was in actual possession of the Parthian throne could not probably have exceeded two.

ARSACES XIV.—ORODES I.—54—37, B.C.

Few reigns in the Parthian annals are more fruitful in remarkable occurrences than that of Orodes, and none are more copiously illustrated by eminent writers in whose works we meet with abundant records of that eventful period.

The death of Mithridates had scarcely placed Orodes in undisputed possession of the Parthian throne, when he found himself threatened by a new adversary.

In a division of the Roman provinces between Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, Syria fell to the lot of the last named general, and partly encouraged it is said by Cæsar, and partly from his own thirst for riches, he determined on not only attempting the conquest of Parthia, but even extending his conquests to Bactria and India.* The injustice of these designs has been admitted even by the Roman writers ; Florus,† says, " The avarice of our Consul Crassus gaping after Parthian gold, engaged him in a war against the will of God and man," he further relates that " whilst he lay encamped at Nicephorium, the ambassadors of king Orodes came and pressed him to remember the leagues made with Pompey and Sylla, but Crassus intent upon the Parthian treasures, without so much as pretending a reason for the war, replied that he would answer them at Seleucia, wherefore the Gods who are guardians of leagues prospered both the secret and open efforts of our enemies."

Plutarch,‡ also says, " when he was ready to set out, Atteius, one of the Tribunes of the people threatened to stop his journey, and many were ready to join with him, for they could by no means allow that any man should for no manner of reason enter into a war with a people who had never done him any harm, but were in friendship and alliance with him." Never indeed was a more unjust war undertaken, and never were avarice and injustice more signally frustrated and

* Plutarch in Crass. † B. 3, C. 11. ‡ In Crass.

punished. Crassus uninfluenced by these attempts to prevent his departure, proceeded to Brundusuim, and such was his impatience to enter on this much coveted expedition, that notwithstanding the boisterous state of the weather he put to sea, and in his passage to Asia Minor having lost many of his ships, he disembarked there and proceeded through Galatia.*

On his arrival in Judæa, his avarice seems still to have exercised a predominant influence over him, for his first act was to seize on the money in the temple at Jerusalem, 2,000 talents which Pompey had left, and as he seemed inclined to lay his hands also on the golden ornaments which amounted to 8,000 more, the High Priest Eleazer, who was the guardian of the sacred treasures, offered him a large beam of gold worth 300 minæ of 2½lb. weight each, and which was concealed in one of timber, if he would bind himself by an oath not to remove any thing else out of the temple ; this oath Crassus took and violated, for after getting possession of the beam, he also carried off all the gold that was in the temple, amounting to 10,000 talents, or nearly two millions of our money.

Having thrown a bridge over the Euphrates, and passed over his army, he met with but little opposition in his progress through Mesopotamia, all the cities he approached having surrendered to him except Zenodotia, which he took by storm and plundered, selling the inhabitants, after which placing 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse as garrisons in the different towns, he returned and took up his winter quarters in Syria.

For this he is justly censured by Plutarch,† who observes that he ought to have immediately gone forward and seized on the cities of Babylon and Seleucia, which were always ill affected to the Parthians, instead of which he allowed his great enemy the Parthian king to make preparations against him, spending his time in computing the revenues of the cities, weighing the treasures in the temple of Hierapolis,‡ and levying soldiers in the different towns, and exacting money for their discharge.

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* Appian in Parth., fol. 136. In his passage through Galatia, he found Deiotarus, the king of that country building a new city, and jestingly remarked, " King, you are beginning to build at the twelfth hour," to which the King replied, " neither do you General enter on your Parthian expedition very early," for Crassus was then more than 60, and looked still older. † In Crasso.

‡ Appian (Parth., fol. 137,) says, that in this temple, which some called that of Venus, some of Juno, and some of Nature, the first prodigy occurred to Crassus, for as they were going out the younger Crassus fell at the door, and the elder over him, a circumstance probably invented afterwards by a people, who were ever on the watch for miraculous coincidences.

After drawing his army out of winter quarters, before proceeding on his expedition, the interview I have before noticed with the Parthian ambassadors took place, and on Crassus's replying, that he would return his answer at Seleucia, Vagises, the chief of the embassy replied smiling, and shewing the palm of his hand, "Hair will grow here Crassus before you see Seleucia." The ambassadors then returned to Orodes and told him to prepare for war.

Crassus now put his army in motion, and to a superstitious people as the Romans were, the omens which attended his crossing the Euphrates, although an army of the present day would regard them but little, were sufficiently discouraging.

Plutarch* notices them at full length, relating that in passing the bridge, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning arose which broke down a part of the bridge, that two thunderbolts fell on the place where the army was going to encamp, that one of the general's horses ran away with the groom into the river, and was seen no more, that when they went to take up the great standard, the eagle turned its head backward of its own accord,† and that after the army had passed over, lentiles and salt were given them which the Romans consider ominous, being emblems of mourning, which are offered on the tombs of the dead, that Crassus in harangueing his soldiers, said, "I will break down the bridge that none of you may return," and that when the priest at the usual sacrifice presented the entrails to Crassus, he let them slip out of his hand, observing however, when he saw the army concerned at it, "These are the inconveniences of old age, but my arms shall never fall from my hands."

About this time Artavasdes king of Armenia, arrived in the Roman camp with 6,000 horse, and promised 10,000 more, all cuirassiers, and 30,000 foot, if Crassus would invade Parthia by way of Armenia; this however the latter declined, not wishing to desert the garrisons he had left in Mesopotamia, on which Artavasdes returned home.

Crassus‡ having crossed the Euphrates with seven legions, nearly 4,000 horse, and as many light armed infantry, amounting probably altogether to nearly 60,000 men, proceeded in search of the enemy, but found the country deserted, on which

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* In Crasso. † Florus, B. 3, C. 11, says, the standards were blown by a whirlwind into the Euphrates and swallowed up. Valerius Maximus, B. 1, C. 6, S. 11, says, that one of the eagles could scarcely be pulled up, and the other, pulled up with difficulty, turned itself backward.

‡ Plutarch in Crass.

he was advised by the most experienced of his officers to remain in some of the garrison towns until he could get certain intelligence of the enemy's movements, or at least keep by the river where he could always be supplied with provisions, and fight more securely. Whilst thus undecided as to his progress, he was joined by an Arabian officer named Ariamnes,* who being known to many of the old soldiers who fought under Pompey, was looked upon as a friend to the Romans, but was in reality a spy in the employment of the Parthian king.

This crafty fellow persuaded Crassus that the Parthians were unprepared for the contest, and meditating a flight into Scythia and Hyrcania with the most valuable of their effects, and that he had no time to lose if he wished to take them by surprise.†

Orodes, however, far from being unprepared had collected a large force, which he divided into two parts, and taking the command of one himself, he proceeded into Armenia to revenge himself on Artavasdes, leaving the other with Surena his general to oppose Crassus, and this arrangement Plutarch justly supposes to have proceeded, not from any contempt for the Romans, but from a dread of them, and a wish that his general should first try the hazard of a battle.

Relying on the treacherous guidance of Ariamnes, Crassus advanced into the plains, where he soon found himself in the midst of a sandy desert, where no water was to be had, and whilst in these difficulties messengers arrived from Artavasdes, informing him that Armenia being now invaded by Orodes, he was altogether unable to send him any assistance, and recommending him to turn back and proceed towards Armenia, but at all events not to advance through the open country, but to keep near the mountains. Crassus, however, not making allowance for the difficulties in which Artavasdes was involved, and despising his advice, told the messengers that he had no leisure to attend to the Armenians, but in due time would call on them and punish Artavasdes for his treachery.

Crassus now wishing to pass through the desert country, advanced rapidly making his infantry by forced marches keep pace with his cavalry, until his advanced guard came into contact with the enemy from whom they sustained some loss.

On receiving this intelligence, Crassus who seems to have been taken by surprise, at first drew up his army in open and extended order with the cavalry on the wings, but afterwards formed it into a square, each front being covered by twelve cohorts, to

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* Appian calls him Agbarus a leader of a tribe, his right name was probably Abgarus, a common name amongst the Arab chiefs.

† Appian, Parth. fol. 140.

every one of which a troop of horse was allotted, and he himself taking the command of the centre, he gave his son the command of one wing and Cassius that of the other. Arrived at the river Balissus, he was advised to halt there for the night and endeavour to inform himself of the number and position of the enemy, but urged on by his son, he scarcely gave his troops time to refresh themselves, but pushed forward rapidly until he found himself in presence of the enemy.

At the first sight of the Parthians, the Romans were surprised to find them neither so numerous or so well appointed as they had been led to suppose, for Surena* had concealed his main force, and caused them to cover their glittering armour with their coats and the skins of beasts.

On the Romans approaching nearer, the Parthians threw off their covering and appeared in burnished armour of Margian steel, whilst their horses were furnished with brass and iron trappings, and a dreadful noise proceeding from certain hollow instruments covered with leather and surrounded with brass bells, astonished and confounded the Romans.

The Parthians headed by Surena, first made a furious attack on the Romans with their lances, but not being able to break their ranks, they wheeled round and extending their line, surrounded the Roman army on every side, and Crassus ordering his light armed troops to charge, they were received with such a shower of arrows that they were forced to seek refuge amongst the heavy armed infantry.

Thus surrounded, the Romans suffered dreadfully from the arrows of the Parthians, which were unremittingly discharged against them, and such was the weight of their arrows, and the size and flexibility of their bows, that no armour was proof against them.

The situation of the Romans now became desperate in the extreme, for if they kept there ranks they fell in numbers, and if they advanced, the Parthians retreated,

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* This distinguished general was one of the most remarkable characters presented by the Parthian annals ; Plutarch says, that in wealth, family, and authority, he was the second man in the kingdom, but in courage and prowess the first, neither was he exceeded by any in stature or the comeliness of his person, that whenever he travelled, he had 1,000 camels to carry his baggage, 200 chariots filled with concubines, a body guard of 1,000 men completely armed, a great many more light armed, and a retinue of at least 10,000 vassals and slaves, that he inherited from his ancestors as has been before observed, the honor of setting the crown on the kings head at the coronation, besides which he was distinguished for having been the first to scale the walls of the great city of Seleucia, which he succeeded in taking, and although possessed of consummate wisdom and prudence was not above 30 years of age. He was also the main instrument of raising Orodes to the throne.

receiving a fresh supply of arrows from the rear and keeping up a formidable discharge, when Crassus wishing to make a strong effort to disengage his army, ordered his son to advance with 1,300 horse, 500 archers,* and eight cohorts of his best armed infantry.

The Parthians now adopted their usual stratagem, for pretending to fly, they drew the young general to a considerable distance from the main body of the Romans, and then suddenly turning about, they charged the front rank of the Romans with their cuirassiers, whilst their light armed cavalry extending themselves, hovered round without coming to close quarters, and raised such a dust from the heaps of sand with which the ground was covered, that the Romans could see nothing, and fell in heaps under the arrows of their wily enemies.

In this desperate condition, young Crassus endeavouring to charge with the Galatian† cavalry, was himself dangerously wounded, and his troops unfortunately taking up a position on an eminence, which exposed them still more to the weapons of the enemy, they all fell valiantly defending themselves, with the exception of about 500, who were taken prisoners, and young Crassus to avoid falling into the hands of the Parthians, caused one of his attendants to run him through the body, and others of the Roman leaders did the same or fell by their own hands.

The Parthians having accomplished the destruction of this gallant detachment, and cut off the heads of young Crassus and the other leaders, proceeded to renew their attack on the Consul himself, and the main body of the Romans.

Crassus who was for some time without receiving any intelligence of his son's proceedings, the messengers from the latter being intercepted and slain, at last received an account of the desperate condition of his detachment, and advanced to its support, when he was met by the Parthian forces, and shocked by the sight of his son's head, carried before them on the top of a lance.

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* Appian, Parth., fol. 144, omits the archers.

† It does not appear to be agreed on by historians, whether these troops were from Gaul or Galatia, Appian uses the word Γαλατων, from which we may suppose that they were from Galatia, through which country we may recollect that Crassus passed on his way to Syria ; Galatia was also called Gallogræcia, being peopled by a colony of ***Gauls***, who migrated there under Brennus, after the sacking of Rome ; a still stronger reason for supposing them Galatians, may be deduced from Tacitus Ann., B. 13, C. 35, viz., that Corbulo, the Roman General, recruited his army with levies raised in Cappadocia and Galatia, and it may also be observed, that Appian Parth., fol. 162, uses the word κελτοι, Celtæ, in speaking of the Gauls.

Crassus now harangued his troops, and endeavoured to infuse courage and confidence into them, but their feeble shouts, contrasted but ill with the noise made by the Parthians, who came on furiously to the charge, their heavy armed infantry with long spears attacking the Romans in front, whilst their light cavalry surrounded the flanks, and although the Romans fought with a desperate courage, they could make but little impression on their formidable enemies, whose spears were so heavy and strong that they frequently ran two men through the body with one thrust. To this desperate combat night only put an end, and the Parthians retreated,* leaving the Romans in possession of the field.

Crassus who had completely abandoned himself to grief and despair, being unable to exert himself, his Lieutenants Octavius and Cassius called a council of war, at which it was resolved to decamp in the night which was immediately done, nor were they pursued by the Parthians until day break,† when they immediately put to the sword about 4,000 of the wounded, who had been left behind, besides cutting off a great number of stragglers.

On the retreat during the night Varguntinus, one of the Roman commanders, with three cohorts‡ lost their way, and were next morning surrounded by the Parthians, who slew them all, except 20, who forcing with their swords a passage through the enemy, the barbarians admiring their courage allowed them to pass without further molestation to Carrhæ.

Surena, whose principal object now seems to have been to secure the person of Crassus, having ascertained by a pretended negociation that the latter was at Carrhæ, now invested that town, in which the greater portion of the remains of the Roman army were shut up, and on a consultation amongst their officers, it was agreed to escape in the night, when the Parthians were by their laws forbidden to fight.

This plan was accordingly put into execution, and would probably have saved the remnant of the Roman army, but for the treachery of Andromachus their guide, who led them into a country full of morasses and ditches, and their posi-

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* Appian, (Parth. fol. 148), says, the Parthians drew off their forces, saying they would leave Crassus one night to lament his son, unless he would consult for his safety by flight rather than be brought to Arsaces.

† The Parthians were forbidden by the laws of their country to fight by night.

‡ Lewis, p. 105, on the authority of Orosius, says 4 cohorts, Appian also in Parth. fol. 149, says 4 cohorts.

tion became so difficult, that many of the Romans suspecting they were betrayed by their guide would follow him no further, and Cassius himself returned to Carrhæ, where his Arabian guides advised him to remain until the moon was out of Scorpio, but Cassius replied, that he was more afraid of *Sagittarius*, and setting off at a rapid rate with 500 horse got safe into Assyria.

Octavius also, with another detachment of 5,000 men, having been led by honest guides, proceeding by the route of the Sinnaca mountains, got into places of safety before morning.

Crassus, however, was by no means so fortunate, for led astray by the crafty Andromachus, he was brought into the middle of the marshy country, where in a short time he found himself again surrounded by the Parthians. He had with him only four cohorts and a few horse, and instead of attempting to join Octavius, who was then but a mile and a half distant, he retreated to a long and narrow ridge in the midst of the plain, where he was still exposed to the attacks of the enemy. Octavius perceiving the dangerous situation of his general, now came to his assistance, and the Parthians were repulsed, when Surena, knowing that if the Romans could hold out until night they could then effect their retreat, had again recourse to treachery, and endeavoured to assure Crassus that the king his master having in his own defence and contrary to his inclination made proof of the power and courage of the Romans, now desired only to make a firm alliance with them and to permit them to go away in safety.

Crassus was however, not deceived by these specious declarations, but his soldiers wishing to relieve themselves from their present dangerous position, insisted on his accepting the offers of the Parthian to treat with him. Much against his inclination therefore Crassus proceeded to the conference accompanied by Octavius and Petronius and a few others, but when they had got at a sufficient distance from the Roman army, Surena with his principal officers galloped up, and seeing Crassus on foot, he exclaimed "a Roman general on foot, and we on horseback," and ordered a horse to be brought for him, and he told him that from that time there was a league between the king his master and the Romans, but that Crassus must go with him to the banks of the Euphrates to sign the agreement, and then causing him to be forcibly placed on horseback, whilst the horse was beaten to make him go faster, the Romans who were present perceived they were betrayed, and made an attempt to rescue their general, but the greater portion of them including Octavius were slain, the rest with difficulty escaping to their comrades on the hill.

Crassus himself, probably endeavouring to escape, was killed by a Parthian soldier, named Pomaxaithres,* and his head and right hand sent by Surena to Orodes.

Of the remainder of the Romans who accompanied Crassus in his retreat, some surrendered themselves to the Parthians, the remainder endeavoured to escape by night, but the greater part of these last were taken or slain by the Arabs, and altogether the loss of the Romans in this unfortunate expedition has been estimated by Plutarch and Appian, at 20,000 slain and 10,000 prisoners.†

I have been thus circumstantial in my account of this luckless expedition, which is detailed at much greater length in Plutarch, Appian, and other writers, as exhibiting a characteristic sketch of the nature of Parthian warfare, and its formidable effects, even on the best disciplined troops in the world, as the Romans unquestionably were.

This splendid triumph obtained over the Romans by the Parthians, was tarnished not only by the treacherous way in which the death of Crassus occurred, but by the manner in which these barbarians exulted over the memory, and even the remains of the Roman commander. A mock triumph was got up by Surena, who caused a Roman prisoner named Caius Pacianus to enact the part of Crassus, to whom he bore a strong resemblance, and to march at the head of the procession in a barbarian dress, preceded by a band of trumpeters and lictors, to whose rods the empty purses of the Romans were attached, whilst the heads of the slain were fixed on the points of the axes, and the procession was closed by a company of courtezans, singing scurrilous songs, reflecting on the vices and cowardice of Crassus. Surena also harangued the Senate on the licentiousness of the Romans, forgetting that his own conduct was far more obnoxious to the charge.‡

Whilst Surena was occupied in this manner, Orodes had struck up a peace with Artavasdes, king of Armenia, which was consolidated by a marriage between

* Appian, Parth. fol. 153, calls this individual Maxarthes, and says that it was also asserted that Crassus was killed by somebody else, and that the former cut off his head and right hand ; the annotator says that in another author he was called Axathres.

† Appian, De Bellis Civ. fol. 438, supposes that out of 100,000 men led into Parthia by Crassus, only 10,000 escaped into Syria, but the first number seems to be far too great and the latter too small.

‡ Plutarch remarks, that the fable of Aesop, in which he asserts that all men carry a wallet on their shoulders, in the forepart of which lay their neighbours faults, and in the hind part their own was most applicable to Surena, whose own licentiousness was notorious.

Pacorus, the son of the former and the daughter of the latter,* and in the midst of the festivities a messenger arrived from Surena, who having made his obeisance, placed the head of Crassus at the feet of Orodes, another mock performance was then enacted, and it is recorded by L. Florus,† that Orodes caused melted gold to be poured into the gaping mouth of his deceased enemy, as an appropriate application to the throat of one whose thirst for gold was in his life time so excessive. The story is doubted by some writers, but surely there is nothing in the character of Orodes which would induce us to question it.

The Parthians elated with their great success now crossed the Euphrates, and invaded Syria, but received so warm a reception from Cassius, who had collected the remains of the Roman army, that they were forced to retreat.

The next season however, they again took the field under Pacorus, the king's eldest son, then little more than 15 years of age, but under the direction of Orsaces, an old and experienced officer, and crossing the Euphrates, reduced every place in their way, until they arrived at Antioch, where Cassius with all his forces were forced to shut themselves up.

The accounts relative to the progress of Pacorus are somewhat contradictory, but all agree that the Parthians were compelled to raise the siege, and shortly after to evacuate Syria,‡ and it would also appear that their celebrated general Orsaces died of a wound he had received.

At this time the Roman empire was convulsed by the war between Cæsar and Pompey, and the Parthians were inclined to espouse the cause of the latter, but Pompey after his defeat at Pharsalia, was dissuaded by his friends from placing any confidence in Orodes. The Parthians, however, appear to have been sincere in their professions towards the party of Pompey, for one of that General's partizans, Cæcilius Bassus, having seized on Apamia, an important town of Mesopotamia, where [redacted] was besieged by Antistius Vetus, the head of the Cæsarean party, Pacorus was [redacted]t with a Parthian army to his assistance, and Antistius Vetus was forced to raise the siege. Bassus was also assisted on this occasion by Alchædamus, king of the Rhambæi, an Arab tribe,§ whose feelings towards the contending parties were said to have been of so impartial a nature, that he offered himself by way of auction to the party who would give him most, and in this way Bassus became the purchaser.

* Appian, Parth., fol. 154, says his sister, but it is far more probable that she was his daughter, as Tigranes, the father of Artavasdes, was said to have died about seven years before, aged 85.

† B. 3, C. 11. ‡ Velleius Paterculus, B. 2, C. 46. Justin, B. 42, C. 4. § Strabo, B. 16.

Cæsar however was so much incensed with the Parthians for their assistance to Bassus, that he formed the design of invading Parthia, but his own ambition and the desire of the Roman people to take revenge for the disastrous campaign of Crassus, were probably still greater incentives,

Plutarch* says, that he had resolved after subduing Parthia, to pass through Hyrcania, the Caucasus, Pontus, Scythia, and so into Germany, returning through Gaul into Italy ; the untimely death of Cæsar, however frustrated these vast designs, but they appear to have added materially to the unpopularity which led to his murder, and which was much increased by his friends giving out that it was foretold by the Sibylline books, that the Romans should conquer the Parthians, when they fought against them under the conduct of a *King*, but not before, and some of his adherents, one day as he was returning from Alba to Rome, actually saluted him by the name of King, which compliment, although (perceiving it was not well received by the people,) he seemed to be displeased at, yet his demeanour to the Senate and people was after this occurrence much more haughty and overbearing than it used to be. It was only four days before Cæsar purposed setting out on his Parthian expedition, that he was murdered in the Senate house.

The government of Syria now passed into the hands of Cassius, who plundered the province, and left it to go to the assistance of Brutus, and after the battle of Philippi, Anthony assuming the government, adopted the same system of plunder, as also did his Lieutenant Saxa, whom he had left in charge of the province, when attracted by the allurements of Cleopatra, he had gone into Egypt.

The Syrians thus oppressed by their Roman rulers, now invited the Parthians to their assistance, and Orodes eagerly responding to their request, sent to their aid his son Pacorus, assisted by the Roman general Labienus, whose father had been a partizan of Pompey, and was killed at the battle of Munda, whilst he himself had been a little before the battle of Philippi, sent by Brutus and Cassius to the Parthian king to solicit assistance, and whilst at the Parthian court, hearing of the discomfiture of his party, thought it prudent to enter into the Parthian service.

Saxa deserted by such of his forces as had belonged to the party of Brutus and Cassius, was now forced to retreat, pursued by Labienus and a party of the Parthian army, whilst the remainder under Pacorus, over ran Syria, meeting with no resistance except from Tyre, where the remains of the Roman army had retreated to.

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* In Cæsare.

Pacorus now occupied himself in the affairs of Judæa, where he afforded assistance to Antigonus, who promised him 1000 talents, and 500 women, if he would secure for him the government,* and dispossess Herod ; the transactions relative to these affairs occupied some time, and are detailed at great length by Josephus, but as they more properly relate to Judæa than to Parthia, it will be sufficient to say that the contest was decided by the arrival of Ventidius, Antony's Lieutenant, who deposed Antigonus, and restored Herod.

In the meantime, Labienus with his division of the army, which consisted partly of Romans and partly of Parthians, over ran the greater part of Asia Minor, plundering the towns, and even the temples, particularly in Caria, and appears to have been so intoxicated with his success and the great wealth he had accumulated, that he actually assumed the title of Emperor, and had coins struck bearing his portrait, and the legend, Q . LABIENVS . PARTHICVS . IMP† ; he however, met with considerable resistance in Caria, particularly from the cities, Mylasa, Alabanda and Stratonicea, and Hybreas an orator and leader at Mylasa, having in ridicule of Labienus, called himself Emperor of Caria, that city was plundered by Labienus, and Hybreas forced to fly for safety to Rhodes.

The conduct of the Parthian war was now given to Anthony, who immediately sent forward his Lieutenant Ventidius, to stop the progress of Labienus and Pacorus.

Ventidius landing in Asia, proceeded with such rapidity that Labienus was taken by surprise, and forced to retreat to Mount Taurus, where he was overtaken by Ventidius, and his army totally routed ; Labienus himself escaped and lay hid in Cilicia for some time, but was at last taken and put to death.

Ventidius pursuing his advantage, came up with another division of the Parthian army under Pharnapates,‡ at the passes of the Amanus, commonly called Pylæ Syriæ, at a place called Trapezon, and also routed them, killing their leader ; and this distinguished success was afterwards crowned by the defeat and death of Pacorus himself.§

That brave and promising young prince, having collected a large force to revenge the loss of the divisions of his army, defeated at Mount Taurus and

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* Josephus Ant., B. 14, C. 13, s. 3.

† It must not be supposed, however, that Labienus meant to assume the title of Emperor of the Parthians, but merely that in compliment to his Parthian followers he considered himself a Parthian and Emperor over Asia Minor, or such parts of it as he had conquered.

‡ Strabo (B. 16,) calls him Nicates, and Appian, Parth. (fol. 156,) Phraates. § Strabo, B. 16.

Trapezon, proceeded in quest of the Roman army, when at a place called Gindarus, not far from the Amanus, he fell in with the victorious army of Ventidius. That commander pretending to be afraid of the Parthians, and allowing them to insult him, remained for some time in his camp, when seizing a favourable opportunity, he sent a small portion of his army against a division of the Parthians, who being routed and pursued by the Romans, Pacorus thinking that the principal part of Ventidius' army had gone in pursuit, attacked the Roman camp, but was encountered by Ventidius, and the main body of his army, and totally routed, he himself being slain.*

Ventidius cut off their king's† head, and carried it about to the towns which had revolted, and recovered all Syria again.‡

Ventidius was as Plutarch has observed, the first Roman who triumphed over the Parthians, and it must be allowed that his skill and conduct were as undoubted as his success was perfect; in contrasting his abilities however, with those of Crassus, we must recollect that Ventidius had not only the advantage of attacking the Parthians in detail, but he also found them unnerved by plunder and a relaxation of discipline, whilst Crassus had to attack a compact and well disciplined army much larger than his own, and commanded by a consummate general.

On hearing of these disasters and the death of his favourite son, the grief of Orodes knew no bounds, and for several days he would neither speak nor take food; on his recovery however, he bethought himself of choosing as his associate and successor in the kingdom, one of the thirty sons he had by various concubines, who all importuned him in favor of their own offspring, and at last unfortunately selected the eldest and most wicked of them all, Phrahates§ who not content with a share of the government, determined on the murder of his father, and took an opportunity of administering aconite to him, but the king being afflicted with dropsy, the poison working on the disease removed the dropsical matter, and Orodes began to recover, when his diabolical son impatient to reign without control, stifled him with his pillow.||

Thus died Orodes after an eventful reign of seventeen years from the murder of his brother, a period which brought great glory to Parthia, but little to its ruler,

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* Justin, B. 42, C. 4.

† Tacitus Hist., B. 5, C. 9, Livy, B. 128, and Justin, B. 42, call Pacorus King, a fact which seems to be illustrated by the coins of his father, with whose name that of Pacorus appears associated.

‡ Florus, B. 4, C. 9. § Justin, B. 42, C. 4. || Plutarch in Crasso.

whose chief merit appears to have consisted in the selection of able officers for the command of his army, and even in this respect he may have been influenced as much by the desire of employing at a distance those restless spirits who might have been troublesome at home, as by a wish to extend his dominions, he certainly was not without ambition, but jealousy and suspicion seem to have been his ruling passions, for he put to death Surena his great general, to whom he was indebted for his kingdom, and for his glorious success against the Romans, and although that great statesman and commander is said to have afforded him some grounds for jealousy, he ought not without the strongest reasons to have acted as he did to one to whom he was under so many obligations. He is even said to have been at one time jealous of his own son Pacorus,* and to have called him home from the command of his army in the midst of his victorious career. His redeeming qualities were indeed but few, whilst his vices were enormous, and his reign terminated as it had begun, for by parricide he obtained the crown and he perished by the hands of his son.

ARSACES XV.—PHRAHATES IV.—37, B.C.—4, A.C.

The reign of Phrahates IV. was still more eventful than that of his father, and commenced in a still more cruel and bloody manner; the enormity of his conduct is indeed almost beyond belief, for not content with obtaining the crown by the murder of his father, he put to death all his brothers, amounting to 30,† and the principal of the nobility, and to reach the climax of atrocity, fearing least his own son who was then grown up should be nominated king, he caused him to be murdered.‡

His treatment however of Hyrcanus, the captive king of Judæa, was mild and courteous, and he appointed a suitable residence for him at Babylon. Hyrcanus, however enticed by the promises of Herod, who offered to share the kingdom with him, having obtained his liberty from Phrahates, returned to Jerusalem, where too late he discovered the treachery of Herod, who soon found an opportunity of putting him to death.§

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*Justin, B. 42, C. 4. The words "patri suspectus" may however mean, that being then very young, his ability to command the Parthian army was *doubted* by his father, but as Pacorus was then in the midst of a most successful campaign, this interpretation is not the most probable.

† Mr. de Bartholomæi says 19. ‡ Justin, B. 42, C. 5. § Josephus Ant., B. XV. C. 2, S. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Phrahates was scarcely seated on the throne, when he found himself called on to defend himself against the Romans.

The causes of this war have not been distinctly stated by any of the historians, and we therefore may conclude that Anthony's pretence for invading the country of the Parthians was not a very solid one; the most probable are those furnished by Plutarch,* who says that Anthony had demanded the return of the standards taken from Crassus, and Justin† who says it was for having assisted the enemies of Anthony and Cæsar, whilst Florus‡ states that he undertook the war without cause, and that he might be before hand with the Parthians; it appears certain however, that Anthony was in some degree influenced by the representations of Moneses a Parthian nobleman of high rank, who fled from the persecutions of Phrahates and was kindly received by Anthony.

The force which Athony assembled in Armenia for the invasion of Parthia, consisted according to Plutarch,§ of Romans, Gauls and Spaniards, amounting to 60,000 foot and 10,000 horse with 30,000 of other nations, including 6,000 foot and 7,000 horse furnished by Artavasdes, king of Armenia; other authors however in speaking of this force give the number of legions differently, Paterculus|| making them 13, Livy** 18, and 16,000 horse, Florus†† and Justin ‡‡ 16; the difference in these accounts being probably caused by some of these authors counting only the regular Roman legions, whilst the others may have reckoned the auxiliaries as distinct legions, although in general they were annexed to the Roman legions as alœ or wings.

Most writers blame Antony for the manner in which this expedition was conducted, Plutarch saying that through his eagerness to enjoy the society of Cleopatra, he took the field too early, and instead of taking up his winter quarters in Armenia, entered Atropatene a province of Media, laying waste the country and marching with such rapidity that he left behind him his battering engines, one of them 80 feet long, and which were placed on 300 carriages with a strong guard commanded by Tatianus.

This conduct may be in a great degree attributed to the treachery of Artavasdes§§ the Armenian king, who undertaking to be his guide, instead of leading him by the shortest road which from Zeugma to the Araxes was only 500 miles led him by a long and difficult way over the mountains.||||

* In Antonio. † B. 42, C. 5. ‡ B. 4, C. 10. § In Antonio. || B. 2, C. 82. ** B. 130. †† B. 4, C. 10. ‡‡ B. 42, C. 5. §§ Appian, Parth. fol. 158, calls him by mistake Artabazes, whilst the Median king whose name was Artabazes is called by Lewis Artavasdes. |||| Strabo, B. 11.

Arriving at Phraata the capital of the Median king Artabazes, who was an ally of Phrahates, he laid siege to it, but found when too late his error in not waiting for his battering engines, for want of which he was obliged to cause a large mound of earth to be cast up against the wall to enable his men to fight hand to hand with the enemy.*

Phrahates now approached with a large army and finding that Anthony had left his engines behind, despatched a large force to intercept them, and so successfully was this movement executed, that Tatianus the commander of the Romans and 10,000 of his men were slain and the engines destroyed, many prisoners also were taken including Polemon, king of Pontus, the ally of Anthony by whom he was placed on the throne of that kingdom.

Anthony on hearing of the approach of the Parthian king, now drew off from the siege 10 legions, three Prætorian cohorts heavy armed, and all his cavalry under the pretence of leading them out to forage, thinking by this stratagem to bring the Parthians to a battle. After he had made one days march, the Parthians made their appearance when he immediately gave orders to prepare for battle, but at the same time struck his tents as if intending to retreat and marched his army before the Parthians, and when the legions were sufficiently near to support his cavalry, he ordered the latter to charge who immediately wheeling about, fell with loud shouts and great impetuosity on the Parthians, who at first received the shock with great firmness, but finding that the closeness of the combat deprived them of sufficient room for the use of their bows, and that they were also closely pressed by the Roman infantry, whilst their horses were thrown into confusion by the shouts of the Romans and the rattling of their armour, they were seized with a sudden panic and fled precipitately.

Anthony followed them with his infantry for upwards of six miles, and with his cavalry three times that distance, when he found that he had killed but 80 and taken only 30 prisoners, and the Romans who perceived that when the Parthians were repulsed they lost but few men, whilst their own loss when defeated was immense became greatly discouraged.

Anthony now returned to the siege of Phraata, but was immediately followed by the Parthians who hung on his flanks and greatly harrassed his army. On arriving at the camp he found that the Medes had sallied out and repulsed the force he had left for the defence of the mount, which so irritated him that he caused the troops

* Plutarch in Anton.

who had fled to be decimated, every ten casting lots for the individual who was to suffer death, whilst those who escaped the lot received for their allowance barley instead of wheat.

Both armies now suffered dreadfully, and Phrahates apprehensive that as the autumnal equinox was past and winter approaching, he might soon be deserted by his army, pretended to be anxious for peace, and to save the lives of the Romans whose bravery he extolled. Antony imposed on by these reports, sent messengers to Phrahates to ask for the standards and prisoners taken from Crassus.

The messengers on being admitted to the kings presence found him sitting on a gilt throne,* and on stating their demands, Phrahates twanged his bowstring,† and answered that the standards and prisoners were out of the question, but that if he chose to retreat he might do so when he pleased with peace and safety.

Antony now decided on a retreat, and by the same road he came which was flat and open, when a certain Mardian well acquainted with the manners of the Parthians, and whose fidelity to the Romans had been already tested in the fatal battle where the machines were destroyed, advised Antony not to rely on the Parthian king's assurance of safety, but to take a more difficult road where he could if attacked defend himself better, and as a surety for his fidelity, offered himself to be bound until the army got safe into Armenia. He accordingly conducted the army the first two days bound, and his conduct afterwards was a proof of his fidelity, for on the third day, the Roman army marching in rather a disorderly manner, arrived at the banks of a river, which the Mardian perceiving to be broken down, immediately advised Antony to be on his guard, and to put his army in battle array, for that the Parthians were probably not far off, and scarcely had the Roman general formed his army, placing the slingers in the front, when the Parthians came pouring on them from on every side, but being warmly received by the Roman light horse they retreated, and returning again to the charge they were so vigorously encountered by a body of Gallic cavalry that they retreated altogether, and did not make their appearance for the ensuing four days.

* This perhaps was the throne said to have been of solid gold, and mentioned to have been at a much later period taken by the Romans.

† Most of the silver coins of the Parthians and several of the brass, exhibit on the reverse the king sitting and presenting a bow, and that this is one of the ceremonies of the present day, appears from Burne's travels in Bokhara, vol. 2, p. 8, where speaking of a chief named Sham Sing, he says, " He presented me with a bow according to the custom of the Seiks," an illustration of a remark often made, that ancient customs are longer preserved in Asia than in Europe.

On the 5th day, Flavius Gallus, an officer of rank and distinguished bravery requested Antony to furnish him with a body of cavalry, with which he undertook to do some important service, and that general having complied with his request, he attacked the enemy who again appeared in pursuit and drove them back, but instead of retreating to the main body he appeared disposed to maintain his ground contrary to the advice of several of his officers, one of whom Titius, a Quæstor, took up the standard and retreated with a portion of the detachment. Gallus now again charged the enemy, but a large body of them getting into his rear, he found himself completely surrounded, and here the Roman commanders were guilty of a fatal error, for instead of advancing with the whole army to the relief of Gallus, they sent forward only small detachments which were routed in detail. At last Antony putting himself at the head of the 3rd Legion, advanced to their support and the enemy were repulsed. In this well fought battle the Romans lost 3000 killed, including the brave Gallus, who was shot through the body with four arrows, and 5000 wounded, amongst whom was Antony himself, who shed tears and appeared greatly affected at the sight of so much suffering. The Parthians were now elated at their success, and reinforcements arrived which swelled their numbers to upwards of 40,000 horse, the king who however, did not himself appear in the engagement, sending his own body guards to enjoy the honor of the victory. The next day, however, they were not a little disheartened at finding the Romans fresh and resolute, and well prepared to receive them, but on arriving at a difficult place at the foot of a hill, they again attacked them with showers of arrows. The Roman heavy armed infantry in order the defend the light armed, now formed a *Testudo,* a military figure formed by the front rank kneeling down, and being covered by the shields of the 2nd rank standing a little higher, who were again covered by the 3rd rank, and so on, every rank covering the heads of the rank before them, and the whole representing a *Tortoise* shell or Pent house.

The Parthians unused to this manœuvre imagined that it proceeded from fatigue, and made a furious attack on the Romans, but were astonished at the vigour and celerity with which they stood to their arms, and received the attack, and the Parthians being generally an unequal match for their adversaries in close combat, they were repulsed with some loss.

This harrassing kind of warfare continued every day, so that Antony could only make very slow and short marches, and his army began to feel very intensely the

want of provisions, half a peck of wheat being sold for 50 drachmæ,* and oats for their weight in silver, and a great part of their food consisted of herbs and roots.†

An officer named Mithridates and first cousin to Monneses, to whom Antony afforded protection now arrived in the Roman camp,‡ and advised Antony not to trust in the assurances of the Parthians, but to take the road through the hills and woods, for that if he marched through the plains he would assuredly meet the fate of Crassus, and the Mardian guide being of the same opinion, Antony lost no time in following their advice, and that very night ordering his soldiers to take with them what water might be necessary for them, commenced his march. The Parthians however, contrary to their usual custom followed them during the night, and in the morning the Romans after marching 15 leagues found the enemy at their heels, so that they had to dispute every step they made, and were at the same time dreadfully incommoded by thirst, and still more by a quantity of brackish and medicinal water, which caused thirst and acute pains. This water the Mardian guide had cautioned them against using, and Antony also did his utmost to prevent them, and by the advice of Mithridates whom he rewarded with a quantity of gold plate he continued his march, his army however seems to have totally lost its discipline, for in the night a number of the soldiers attacked those who had charge of the treasure, killed some of them and seized on the money, which was intended for the payment of the army, not respecting even the private baggage of Antony himself, and the latter was so much afraid of a dissolution of his army, and of falling alive into the hands of the Parthians, that he sent for Rhamnus, one of his freedmen, and made him swear that whenever he should direct him, he would run his sword through his body and cut off his head, that he might not fall alive into the hands of the Parthians, or be known when dead to be the Roman general.§

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* About £1 13s. 4d. of our money.

† Plutarch mentions that amongst the unknown herbs they were forced to eat, was one which produced delirium and total loss of memory, and that those attacked employed themselves in removing stones from one place to another, so that through the whole camp, men were to be seen crawling on the ground in search of stones, which they carried about until at last they threw up a quantity of bile and fell down dead; he also mentions that wine was a remedy for this distemper; Appian, (Parth. fol. 165,) says that even wine which was the only remedy was found to fail.

‡ Velleius Paterculus calls this person a Roman captive taken in the rout of Crassus' army,

§ Plutarch in Ant.

In this state however of confusion and consternation his spirits were again cheered by the Mardian, who assured him that from the fresh breeze which began to blow the river must be near, and consequently their difficulties at an end, and Antony began with confidence to appease the tumult and put his army in order. Still harrassed by the Parthians, against whom he was again obliged to have recourse to the *Testudo,* he pursued his march towards the river, which he soon arrived at, when he immediately drew up his horse to cover the passage of his infantry, on which the Parthians unbent their bows, telling the Romans they might pass unmolested, and praising them for their valour and conduct.

The Romans having crossed the river, continued their march, but had experienced too much of the duplicity of the Parthians to trust in their assurances, and therefore were prepared for an attack ; it does not appear however, that they received any further annoyance from them, and six days after they arrived at the river Araxes, which separates Media from Armenia, and thus effected their retreat.

Antony now reviewed his army, and found that he had lost 20,000 foot and 4000 horse,* more than half of them by disease ; his march had been for 27 days from Phrahata, during which he repulsed the Parthians 18 times, although these engagements had but little of the character of a victory, and in 21 days he had retreated 300 miles, having lost by the inclemency of the weather about 8000 men.†

Plutarch attributes the failure of this expedition to the defection of Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who he says deserted him with 16,000 horse.‡

Antony although inclined to revenge himself on Artavasdes, and urged by his army to do so, found his troops so much in want of rest and refreshment, that he thought it better to temporise, and persuaded Artavasdes to allow his army to winter in Armenia, pretending that it was his intention the next spring to invade Parthia again, and having left his army there, returned to Alexandria to enjoy the society of Cleopatra.

A dispute now arose between the kings of Parthia and Media, concerning the distribution of the large booty§ taken from the Romans, and the Parthian king

* Plutarch in Ant., Appian, Parth., fol. 168—Velleius Paterculus, B. 2, C. 82, agrees in this estimate, saying that he lost at least the one-fourth of his army, the one-third of his camp followers and slaves, and nearly all his baggage. Florus however, B. 4, C. 10, says, that scarce a third part was left out of 16 legions.

† Livy, Epit. B. 130.

‡ Plutarch in a former place, calls this force 6000 foot and 7000 horse, he also in this place calls the 16,000 Median horse.

§ Florus, B. 4, C. 10, says the Parthians, chopped the Roman money in pieces with hatchets.

having as might be expected the advantage, the Median became alarmed for the safety of his kingdom, and sent Polemo as ambassador to Antony, offering him his assistance against the Parthians, and his offers were readily accepted by Antony, who now thought that with the assistance of the Median horse, who as well as the Parthian were archers, another expedition would be certainly attended with success.

These designs of Anthony were prevented by the artifices of Cleopatra, who hearing that his wife Octavia had set out with the intention of joining her husband, exerted all her blandishments for the purpose of inducing him to return to Alexandria ; this she effected, and the Parthian expedition was for the present given up.

The next spring, however, Antony set out for Armenia, where under the most solemn promises of safety prevailing on Artavasdes to meet him, he caused him to be seized, and carried about to the different towns of Armenia, under the expectation that he would thus obtain the submission of these towns, and a large ransom for the liberation of their king ; being however, disappointed in this, he placed him in stricter confinement, paying him however the compliment of binding him with silver chains,* and at length compelled him to confess where the royal treasure was placed, on which Antony attacked the town where it was kept and obtained an immense treasure,† which so incensed the Armenians, that they placed on the throne Artaxias, the eldest son of the captive king, who with a large army marched against Antony, but being routed was forced to fly for refuge to Parthia.

Antony now reduced all Armenia under his dominion, and conferred that part called the Lesser, on his friend Polemo, king of Pontus, he also entered into a treaty with the king of Media, between a daughter of whom and Alexander, one of his sons by Cleopatra, he contracted a marriage, and leaving the greater part of his army in Armenia, he returned to Alexandria, bringing with him his captive Artavasdes and his wife and children, with whom to gratify the pride of Cleopatra, he entered the city in triumph, which gave great offence to the Romans, such pageants being always reserved exclusively for their own capital. He is also said to have promised his son Alexander the kingdoms of Armenia, Media, Parthia, and even the countries as far as India, when they should be subdued,‡ a magnificent promise, no part of which he was ever able to perform.

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* Paterculus, B. 2, C. 82, says golden chains. † Lewis, p. 168. ‡ Plutarch in Antonio.

The next spring Antony again went into Armenia, apparently for the purpose of invading Parthia, but advanced only as far as the Araxes, he however confirmed the treaty with the Median king, by which he bound himself to assist that prince against the Parthians, the Median in return, engaging to support Antony against his rival Augustus ; the Median received from Antony a part of Armenia, giving in return his daughter Jotape as a wife for Alexander, when she should be of sufficient age,* and also delivering up the Roman ensigns which were taken from Tatianus, and which were in his hands.

Antony was now obliged to forego all prospects of eastern conquests, and proceed to Europe for the purpose of opposing Augustus, and took with him a great part of the forces he had collected in Armenia, and Phrahates taking advantage of the absence of Antony, resolved on revenging himself on the Median king, and establishing Artaxias on the throne of Armenia, but was at first successful in neither of these objects, being defeated by the Medians, who were supported by the Roman troops left in Armenia by Antony, but the latter being hard pressed for troops, not only withdrew the Roman force from Media, but even retained a large body of Medians, which the king of that country had furnished him with in exchange for the Romans, and the consequence was, that the Median king was defeated and taken prisoner, and his kingdom made a province of Parthia, whilst Artaxias was placed on the throne of Armenia,

Phrahates naturally of a cruel and tyrannical disposition was now so elated with his success that his cruelty and oppression knew no bounds, and he became so odious to his people, that they set up a nobleman named Tiridates as king, who as well as Phrahates sent ambassadors to Augustus, soliciting his alliance and assistance, but that politic prince perceiving that dissensions amongst the Parthians were highly for his advantage, would not give satisfactory answers to either party.

The Median king Artabazes, however, having escaped from captivity, now took advantage of the Parthian troubles and recovered his kingdom, and being applied to for assistance by Cleopatra, who to ingratiate herself with him sent him the head of the Armenian king Artavasdes, he was so incensed at the barbarity of her conduct that he joined the party of Augustus.

A battle was now fought between Phrahates and Tiridates, and the latter being defeated fled into Syria, but Augustus not only refused to give him up, but allowed

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* This marriage did not take place, the child being given up to her parents by Antony after the battle of Actium.

him to remain in that province. Tiridates afterwards repaired to the court of Augustus, then carrying on the war in Spain, and brought with him as a hostage, the youngest son of Phrahates, whom he had carried off;* which having reached the ears of that prince, he sent an embassy to Augustus demanding his slave Tiridates and his own son.

Tiridates also promised that if he should by means of the Romans obtain the kingdom of Parthia, he would hold it as a dependant of that empire, to which Augustus replied, that he would neither give up Tiridates nor assist him against the Parthians; and wishing to conciliate both parties, he sent back the young prince without ransom to his father Phrahates, whilst he ordered a liberal establishment to be provided for Tiridates as long as he wished to remain in the Roman territories.

After Augustus had finished the Spanish war he repaired to Syria, where the terror of his name alone had such an effect on Phrahates, that he delivered up all the captives and standards that were taken from Crassus and Antony.†

Amongst the presents sent by Augustus to the Parthian king, was an Italian slave named Mousa,‡ who afterwards exercised an important influence over the affairs of Parthia; this woman who was remarkable for her beauty, was at first only a concubine, but Phrahates having a son by her made her his queen, and so great was the influence this artful woman succeeded in obtaining over him, that she persuaded him to send his four legitimate sons by a former queen as hostages to Rome, in order that her own son might on the death of his father succeed to the throne; Phrahates accordingly sent these four princes whose names were probably Seraspadores, Rhodaspes, Phrahates, and Vonones,§ with two of their wives and children to Titius, the governor of Syria under Augustus.

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* Justin, B. 32, C. 5, Augustus was so well pleased with this present that he caused a medal to be struck on the occasion, on which Augustus is represented on his throne, whilst Tiridates presents him with the young prince; and in the exergue the words IMP. XIV., making the date of the event, 16 B.C.

† Augustus was so proud of the recovery of these memorials of Parthian success, that he caused a temple dedicated to Mars Ultor, to be built for the reception of the standards, he also caused a medal to be struck, having on the obverse a Parthian kneeling with a standard, and on the reverse a triumphal arch surmounted by a figure of Augustus in a Quadriga, and the legend CIVIB. ET. SIGN. MILIT. A. PARTHIS. RESTITVTIS.

‡ This woman is called by historians Thermusa, but her coins as Mr. de Bartholomæi justly observes, prove Mousa to have been her right name.

§ Strabo, B. 16, calls them Seraspades, Cerospades, Phraanes, and Boones; there can be no doubt that the fourth was Vonones, who was afterwards king of Parthia, under the name of Arsaces XVIII.

These hostages Augustus treated with great respect, and at the public shows led them through the middle of the arena, and placed them in the 2nd row next to himself.*

The next occurrence in the Parthian annals arose out of the affairs of Armenia, to which kingdom Augustus had appointed Tiberius governor, but that officer through fear of Caius and Lucius, the adopted sons of Augustus, never took possession of this province, but retired to Rhodes, and at this time a revolt took place in Armenia, where the Roman troops set up Artavasdes, the grandson of the late king, in opposition to Tigranes, the son of the former Artavasdes. We learn from Tacitus,† that on the death of Artavasdes, who was put to death by Cleopatra, his son Artaxias was raised to the throne, on which he was supported by the Parthians, but being slain by the perfidy of his kindred, his brother Tigranes was by Augustus appointed king, and now in the contest which took place for the Armenian throne, Artavasdes seems to have been supported by the Romans, and Tigranes by the Parthians. Augustus wishing to put a stop to these commotions sent his grandson Caius, under the care of Marcus Lollius, and now took place the remarkable occurrence of an amicable meeting between Caius and the Parthian king, who with an equal number of attendants to each, met on an island in the Euphrates, the Roman and Parthian armies occupying different banks. The scene is described by Paterculus,‡ who was himself present, being then a young officer of the army. The Parthian king was, he says first entertained by Caius on the Roman side of the river, after which the latter feasted with the Parthian on the opposite side,§ and such was the cordiality between them that the

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* Suetonius in Aug., C. 43. † Annals, B. 2, C. 3. ‡ B. 2, C. 101.

§ The account of this interview between the Parthian king and the Roman commander, given by Paterculus, suggests an important question as to who the Parthian king was. That he was a young man is expressly stated by the Roman historian, who calls him " juvene excelcissimo," and as Paterculus was himself present, there can be no doubt on the subject, and that Phrahates then nearly 40 years on the throne, and probably between 70 and 80 years of age, could not possibly be the young king spoken of; on the other hand the date of this interview, 756 U.C., or 2 A.D., falls within the period commonly assigned as the reign of Phrahates IV., and Lewis (p. 182), taking it for granted that the king must have been Phrahates, applies the words " Juvene" to Caius, and not to the Parthian king ; but the passage which is as follows, will not bear that construction. Speaking of Caius, Cæsar he says, " Cum rege Parthorum juvene excelcissimo in insula quam amnis Euphrates ambiebat æquato utriusque partis numero coiit." Lipsius also, the learned annotator of Paterculus, supposing that the king could be no other than Phrahates, expresses his astonishment that he should be called a youth. Altogether we may conclude that Phrahataces, the son and successor of Phrahates must have

Parthian king communicated to Caius the treachery of his adviser Lollius,* who had taken bribes of the Parthian and other kings, a few days after which Lollius was found dead, but whether accidentally or by his own hands Paterculus says was uncertain, but rejoiced at by all. The Roman and Parthian armies then separated, the former retiring to Syria, and the latter evacuating Armenia according to agreement.

Early in the next spring, Caius again entered Armenia, and deposed Tigranes, in whom the race of Artaxias terminated, and agreeably to the wishes of the Armenians, raised to the throne one Ariobarzanes a Mede; a conspiracy of the nobles was however soon formed against him, and Adduus, the governor of Artagera, the second city in the kingdom, placed himself at its head, and held the city against Caius and the new king, and the Roman general being drawn into a conference with the governor, received a severe wound from him, which compelled him to retire from the army, and soon after caused his death at Lymira, a city of Lycia, or according to Florus,† in Syria.

The city of Artagera was stormed, and Ariobarzanes confirmed in the kingdom.

No further events are recorded of the reign of Arsaces XV., except that he was murdered by his son Phrahataces, assisted by his mother Mousa, the Italian slave, whom Phrahates had married, and by whose stratagem in getting rid of the elder sons of Phrahates, the advancement of Phrahataces to the throne was secured.‡

The reign of this sanguinary and suspicious tyrant lasted about 40 years, and ended as it had begun by parricide; so odious had his cruelties and vices rendered him to his people, that he was twice deposed by them, and for his remaining so long on the throne, he was probably indebted to his wars with the Romans which rendered a monarch of abilities, as he unquestionably was, necessary to the safety of the kingdom; he was however deprived of a great part of Media and Armenia, which the domestic troubles of Parthia prevented him from recovering.

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been the young king in question, and if his father was then dead, the point of separation between the two reigns must have been not later than 1 or 2 A.D., and not 4 as generally supposed; but it is also possible that the son may in the later period of his father's reign, have been associated with him in the kingdom, as Pacorus was with his father Orodes. The former supposition seems supported by Mr. de Bartholomæi, who possibly on the authority of this passage of Paterculus, gives the termination of the reign of Phrahates, and the accession of Phrahataces as 1 or 2 A.D., but the latter seems the most probable.

* Paterculus, B. 2, C. 102.

† B. 4, C. 12, Florus calls the governor Domnes.

‡ Josephus, B. 18, C. 2, S. 4.

ARSACES XVI.—PHRAHATACES—4, A.D.

This prince having possessed himself of the Parthian crown by the murder of his father, became so odious to his people as well on that account as for an incestuous intercourse he is reported to have held with his mother Mousa, that they rebelled, deposed and put him to death,* after a short reign of it is said only a few months. There can be no doubt but he was the Parthian king who had an interview with Caius Cæsar on the banks of the Euphrates as already noticed, although it is probable that he was then (2, A.D.) only associated with his father in the kingdom, but if he was then sole king, it is likely his reign must have been longer, probably one or two years. He was about twenty four or twenty five years of age when he ascended the throne, and I can find nothing recorded of him but the interview with Caius and the atrocious crimes I have mentioned.

ARSACES XVII.—ORODES II.—5, A.D.

The Parthian nobles now raised to the vacant throne Orodes, who was said to have been of the family of the Arsacidæ, but of what branch does not appear. Of this king but little is recorded, except that he was of a cruel and intractable disposition and prone to anger, and rendered himself so obnoxious to the Parthians, that they formed a conspiracy against him, and slew him after he had reigned but a few months.† The period of Orodes's death is proved by the fact, that the ambassadors sent by the Parthians to Rome after that king's death, arrived there in 758, U.C. Josephus says that he was either killed at a festival and among their sacrifices, or as more generally reported out hunting. Lewis‡ observes that the cruelty of his disposition was an evidence that he descended from the royal stock, and this remark is true as far as relates to his four immediate predecessors, but the early kings were by no means remarkable for this disposition, although it may be suspected that the Parthians in general were prone to it.

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* Josephus, Ant., B. 18, C. 2, S. 4, Vaillant, p. 188, says he was killed together with his mother, in a popular tumult.

† Suetonius in Tiberio, C. 16.

‡ P. 188.

ARSACES XVIII.—VONONES I.—5, 13, A.D.

On the death of Orodes, the Parthians sent ambassadors to Rome to request that Vonones, one of the sons* of Phrahates then detained as a hostage, should be allowed to return to Parthia and receive the crown then vacant,† and Tiberius not only complied with their request but dismissed him with great pomp and presents, his reception also in Parthia was at first most cordial and flattering.

In a short time however, murmurs and discontent arose, the Parthians became offended at many of the habits of their new sovereign, from his long residence at the Roman court, so different from their own; he rarely joined in the chase; so far from taking any interest in horses so highly valued by the Parthians, in his progress through the cities of his empire he was carried in a litter, and he shewed a contempt for their national mode of banqueting; they also despised him for his Greek servants, and for keeping even the most worthless articles of furniture under a seal; and to add still more to the sinister light in which they viewed him, they considered him from being a hostage with the Romans, as a slave‡ of that people, and (as Tacitus observes,) even his easiness of access and his unhesitating courtesy, virtues unknown to the Parthians, were to them new vices, and every part of his manners, the laudable and the bad were subject to equal hatred, because foreign to their own.

Influenced by these antipathies, they sent for Artabanus, by his mothers side a descendant of the Arsacidæ, but brought up amongst the Dahæ, and at that time king of Media. Artabanus complied with their request and came with an army, but it would appear from Josephus that the majority of the Parthians were still on the side of Vonones, and indeed this is highly probable from the result, for in the first battle Artabanus was defeated.§

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* Tacitus calls him the eldest son of Phrahates, but Mr. de Bartholomæi, says that he was the 3rd son, and that his two elder brothers Seraspadanes and Rhodaspes were dead, Strabo mentions four sons, it is probable however, Vonones was the youngest, as he is generally named last.

† Tacitus, B. 2, C. 1, 2.

‡ The Parthian annals afford other instances of the contempt in which any of their princes who were hostages or prisoners were held.

§ Josephus, Ant. B. 18, C. 2, S. 4. This victory is illustrated by a coin of Vonones, one of the most important in the Series, as being one of the few Parthian coins which exhibit any name but that of the family one, it presents on the reverse the figure of victory and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ . ΟΝΩΝΗΣ . ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΣ . ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΝ .

That prince however having collected a large army, again invaded Parthia, and Vonones was defeated and fled on horseback with a few attendants to Seleucia, whilst Artabanus following up his success, pursued the Parthians with great slaughter even after he had obtained the victory, and entering Ctesiphon was acknowledged as king of Parthia.

Vonones fled to Armenia and thought to possess himself of that kingdom, but finding that Tiberius was against him, that Artabanus threatened him with war, and that moreover the people in authority in Armenia were more favorable to his rival, he delivered himself up to Silanus the Roman præfect of Syria, whilst Artabanus gave the kingdom of Armenia to one of his own sons.*

Tacitus† says, that Vonones was actually received by the Armenians as their king, but that being menaced by Artabanus and discountenanced by the Romans who dreaded another war with the Parthians, he accepted an invitation from Creticus Silanus, the governor of Syria, who kept him in a kind of honorable captivity, leaving him still the name and pomp of royalty.

The reign of this king, whose name will frequently occur in the annals of his successor, was about eight years, and his mild disposition and polished manners acquired during a long residence at Rome, strongly contrasted his character with that of the greater number of the Parthian kings, and particularly of his rival Artabanus, whose education was acquired in a still more barbarous school than that of Parthia, and we may fairly conclude that he was possessed of too much refinement for so barbarous a court and so rude a people.

ARSACES XIX.—ARTABANUS III.—13, 42, A.D.

The commencement of the reign of Artabanus was full of trouble, and the possession of Armenia by his son Orodes was the means of embroiling him with the Romans who had long claimed the supremacy over, and appointment to the sovereignty of that kingdom.

Tiberius glad of an opportunity of separating Germanicus from the legions which were attached to him,‡ rejoiced at the occurrence of these commotions in the east, and representing to the senate that they could only be settled by the wisdom of Germanicus, the provinces beyond sea were decreed to the latter with authority paramount to those who had obtained provinces by lot or by the will of the

* Josephus, B. 18, C. 2, S. 4. † B. 2, C. 4. ‡ Tacitus, Ann. B. 2, C. 5.

prince.* Tiberius however determined on the destruction of Germanicus, removed at the same time from the presidency of Syria, Creticus Silanus the friend of Germanicus, and appointed in his place Cneius Piso a man of a violent temper and well calculated to further the views of his employer.

On the arrival of Germanicus in Armenia, he found that kingdom in a state of disorder, and Tacitus says without a king, Vonones having been previously expelled,† and as the affections of the nation seemed to lean towards Zeno, the son of Polemon king of Pontus, whose manners and pursuits were congenial to both the nobles and the people, Germanicus placed him on the throne and put the royal diadem on his head, whilst the people saluted him by the name of Artaxias.‡ At the same time ambassadors arrived from Artabanus, requesting that Germanicus would cause Vonones the late king of Parthia to be removed from Syria where he resided in high favor with Piso, and Germanicus as well to conciliate Artabanus as to slight Piso who had given him all the annoyance in his power, complied with his request, and Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia.§

Some time after this, Vonones having corrupted his keepers, endeavoured to make his escape and proceed towards Armenia, but the neighbouring inhabitants having intelligence of his escape, broke down the bridges and he was taken by Vibius Fronto a captain of horse, and run through the body by Remmius one of his keepers, who is supposed to have killed him to prevent his giving evidence of the treachery of his keepers;|| Suetonius however,** charges Tiberius with his murder and the plunder of a large treasure he had brought with him to Antioch.

Germanicus soon after died, poisoned it is said at the instigation of Piso, at Epidaphne near Antioch, and Piso who had been previously dismissed by Germanicus, after an ineffectual attempt to recover his authority, only succeeded in obtaining ships and a safe conduct to Rome,†† where after a trial for various charges, the only one of which according to Tacitus he seemed to clear himself, being that of

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* Tacitus, Ann. B. 2, C. 43.

† Suetonius (in Calig.) and other writers mention that Germanicus conquered the king of Armenia, who could have been no other than Orodes the son of Artabanus, but Tacitus probably considered that prince only as an usurper or pretender to the throne.

‡ Tacitus says he was so called from the city Artaxata, but this is an error, for he was the third king of Armenia of that name, and the city was called after one of the former kings.

§ Tacitus, B. 2, C. 58. || Tacitus, Ann. B. 2, C. 68. ** In Tiberio, C. 49.

†† Tacitus, Ann. B. 2, C. 81.

poisoning Germanicus, he was put to death as supposed by the secret orders of Tiberius in whose base machinations against Germanicus he had been a willing instrument.*

Soon after the death of Germanicus, an occurrence which was attended with remarkable consequences took place at Babylon, then subject to the Parthians, and is detailed at length by Josephus.

There were in the province of Babylon two cities, Neerda and Nisibis, which being places of great strength, were used by the Jews as depositories for the Half Shekel offerings previous to their being transmitted to Jerusalem, to which place they were escorted as Josephus says, by many myriads on account of their dread of the ravages of the Parthians.

In the city of Neerda there were then two brothers, Asineus and Anileus who had lost their father, and were by their mother put as apprentices to a weaver of cloth by whom they were beaten for not coming in sufficient time to their work.

Being of a spirited disposition, they seized on all the weapons which belonged to their master, and retiring to a place suited to their purpose, were joined by a number of other young men whom they armed, and having built a fortress levied contributions from those in their neighbourhood who kept cattle, under the pretence of defending them, and at last they became so numerous and formidable as to attract the notice of the king of Parthia himself.

The governor of Babylon in the mean time, raised a considerable army both Parthians and Babylonians, and thinking that the brothers being Jews would not fight on their sabbath, and that he might take them by surprise and without resistance on that day, approached where they lay. Asineus was the first who became aware of their approach, and sent out a messenger to ascertain the fact, who returned immediately with the intelligence, that a large body of cavalry was approaching. Asineus however, regarding the urgency of the matter, and disregarding the religious scruples of his brethren, took up arms and infused such courage into his companions that they fell on their enemies, slew a great number of them, and put the rest to flight.

Artabanus hearing of this exploit, was surprised at the boldness of these young men, and desirous to see them; he accordingly sent them an invitation to come to his court, promising them not only safe conduct, and his right hand as a security for their safety, but that he would give them presents, and afford them

* Tacitus, Ann. B. 3, C. 15, 16.

his friendship and protection. Asineus declined complying with this proposal, but sent his brother Anileus, with such presents as he could procure, and on Artabanus inquiring why Asineus did not make his appearance, and being told that he was afraid, he swore by the Gods of his country that he would do them no harm, and gave his right hand to Anileus as a pledge.

This pledge was considered by the Parthians as inviolable, and it was so esteemed by both parties, for Asineus no longer scrupled waiting on the king, and the latter who was struck with admiration at the exploits of Asineus, and still more so as he was a very small man, not only performed his promise, but appointed him to be governor of the province of Babylonia, where his power and authority encreased so much, that it extended over the province of Mesopotamia, and for fifteen years his career was a most prosperous one.*

A signal calamity however now befel not only the brothers, but the whole race of Jews residing at Babylon. Anileus captivated with the beauty of the wife of a Parthian general, became the enemy of the latter, and in a battle which ensued the Parthian being slain, Anileus married his widow, who according to the custom of the Parthians, carried with her the images of her household gods,† and after her captivity, was at first content to worship them in private, but after her marriage with Anileus, performed the ceremonies of their worship openly, which so disgusted the Jews, that they strongly remonstrated with him on the subject, but with so little effect, that Anileus irritated with their importunities, slew one of them, who in his dying moments imprecated a punishment not only on Anileus but on his brother Asineus and their companions.

Asineus at length becoming aware of the evil consequences attending the public discontent at his brother's conduct, remonstrated with him and advised him to send the woman back to her relations, which she discovering, infused poison into Asineus's food and caused his death, by which means Anileus became sole governor.

Anileus who seems to have been much inferior to his brother in abilities, having now no one to restrain him, led his army against Mithridates a nobleman high in authority in Parthia, and who had married king Artabanus's daughter, and

* Josephus, Ant. B. 18, C. 9, S. 4.

† The annotator of Josephus correctly observes, "This custom of the Mesopotamians to carry their household gods along with them wherever they travelled, is as old as the days of Jacob, when Rachel his wife did the same. Genesis XXXI. 19, 30, 35." He also remarks on the great miseries which came on the Jews, because they suffered one of their leaders to marry an idolatrous wife contrary to the law of Moses.

Mithridates finding that several of his villages were plundered, collected a large body of horsemen and arriving at a certain village of his own, he lay still there intending to attack Anileus on the following day which was the Jewish sabbath. Anileus however being privately informed of this plan, determined on being before hand with him, and accordingly attacked him about the 4th watch of the night and totally routed him, killing a great many and taking Mithridates himself prisoner, whom he set naked on an ass which the Parthians consider to be the greatest insult they can inflict.

Anileus however, although advised by his friends to put Mithridates to death, refused to do so, and Mithridates was dismissed.

Mithridates was at first disposed not to avenge the defeat and insults he had received from the Jews, but his wife (Artabanus's daughter,) declaring that if he acted in so pusilanimous a manner, she would certainly dissolve her marriage with him, he raised as large an army as he could and marched against Anileus.

Anileus unwilling to appear afraid of him, marched to meet him, but after proceeding for about 90 furlongs through dry and sandy places, they became about the middle of the day so oppressed with heat and thirst, that they could not bear their weapons, and Mithridates then coming on them unexpectedly, they were totally routed, and as Josephus expresses it, many myriads fell.

Anileus now recruited his forces with a great number of dissolute persons who flocked to his standard, but these men but ill supplied the place of the veterans he had lost, however with them he attacked and most unmercifully plundered the villages of the Babylonians, who thereupon sent messengers to the Jews at Neerda demanding that Anileus should be given up to them, which however was more than they were able to perform even if willing to do so.

In the mean time however, the Babylonians having watched for an opportunity, fell upon Anileus and his associates as they lay drunk and asleep, and killed a great number of them including Anileus himself.

It was now the Babylonians turn to retaliate on the Jews, which they did with so little forbearance, that the Jews retired to Seleucia, and the Syrians and Babylonians coming to an agreement among themselves, fell on the Jews and slew upwards of 50,000 of them, the few who escaped retiring to Ctesiphon the winter residence of the Parthian king and the principal depositary of his wealth, but not considering themselves safe in this place, they finally retired to Neerda and Nisibis which from their great strength, were able to afford them sufficient security.

Artabanus relieved by the deaths of Vonones and Germanicus of his most formidable adversaries, now waged successful wars against the surrounding nations, and on the death of Artaxias, succeeded in placing his eldest son Arsaces on the throne of Armenia,* his disposition also which was naturally cruel and tyrannical shewed itself towards his subjects in a more unrestrained manner, and excited so much discontent, that the nobles, Abdus and Sinnaces (being the principal instigators,) privately sent to Rome, to request that Phrahates the son of their late king, Phrahates IV., should be sent them for a king, as he was the only descendant of the race of the Arsacidæ, of sufficient age to govern, who had escaped the sanguinary vigilance of Artabanus, and the deputies represented that it was only necessary for a descendant of Arsaces with the concurrence of the Roman emperor, to shew himself on the banks of the Euphrates.

Tiberius who desired nothing better than this application, furnished Phrahates with every thing necessary,† his determination however being to manage matters by policy and avoid engaging in war.

Artabanus apprised of these machinations, was actuated both by fear and a desire of revenge, under the influence of which passions he invited Abdus to a banquet where he contrived to have slow poison administered to him, but Sinnaces he restrained by dissimulation, presents, and engaging him in business.

Phrahates on his arrival in Syria, thought it advisable to lay aside the Roman dress and manners, to which he had been for the greater part of his life accustomed, and adopt those of the Parthians, but these proved so uncongenial to him that he fell sick and died; Tiberius however unwilling to abandon his plans, set up Tiridates also of the race of the Arsacidæ, being the nephew of the lately deceased prince and grandson of the monarch Phrahates IV., and for the purpose of recovering Armenia, he set up Mithridates the Iberian, and reconciled him to his brother Pharasmanes the king of Iberia; he also appointed as his general in the east, Lucius Vitellius, father to that remarkable person who was afterwards emperor. This officer whose flattery and servility were so odious to the Romans, is described by Tacitus as having in the government of the provinces, conducted himself in an upright manner.

The Iberians under Pharasmanes and Mithridates made an irruption into Armenia, and took the important city of Artaxata, whilst not content with these open demonstrations, Mithridates endeavoured to procure the murder of Artabanus, by means of corrupting his servants.

* Tacitus, Ann. B. 6, C. 31.

† Tacitus, B. 6, C. 32.

Artabanus incensed at these proceedings, sent forward his son Orodes at the head of the Parthian army, whilst he made every exertion to procure fresh auxiliaries for his support, and Pharasmanes was equally active, having added to the Armenians and Iberians, the Albanians and a portion of the Sarmatæ, which last were accustomed to serve as mercenaries with any prince who should hire them, and another portion of them were now engaged by the Parthians, but the Iberians being masters of the passes, their auxiliaries were enabled to join them, whilst those of the Parthians were unable to do so, the passes being all closed against them, except one between the sea and the mountains of Albania, which being flooded by the force of the Etesian winds, is impassable in the summer but open in winter.*

Orodes deprived of the support which he had calculated on, and his army consisting only of Parthians who were all cavalry, whilst that of Pharasmanes included a large and hardy body of infantry from Iberia and Albania, was unwilling to try his strength with the enemy, but finding his foragers cut off, and his army insulted by the enemy, and anxious to revenge themselves, he thought it better to hazard the chances of an engagement.

In this battle, the combatants being so differently equipped, every mode of fighting was exhibited, the Parthians relying on their bows and arrows, alternately flying and pursuing, the Sarmatæ only using their bows in the beginning of an action, and rushing to close combat with their swords and pikes, whilst the Albanians and Iberians grappled with the Parthians and dragged them from their horses.

In the midst of this furious and well conducted battle, the two great leaders Pharasmanes and Orodes descrying each other, rushed to the encounter, and the former whose impetuosity was the greatest, drove his lance through his opponents helmet, but being hurried along by his horse, could not follow up the blow, and the wounded Orodes was protected by his guards; but a report being circulated that he was killed, his army yielded the victory to their opponents.†

Artabanus having collected the whole strength of his empire, now advanced to meet the enemy, but the Iberians having a more perfect knowledge of the country, had still the advantage, and Artabanus a rumour being spread of the approach of Vitellius, retired from the contest and abandoned Armenia.

His ill fortune was not however at an end, for Vitellius proceeded to stir up the Parthians to revolt, and his invitation was eagerly responded to by the nobles and other chief men of that nation, including Sinnaces and his father Abdageses, by all

* Tacitus, Ann. B. 6, C. 33.

† Tacitus, Ann. B. 6, C. 35.

whom the tyrant was detested and feared, and he was deserted by all except his foreign guards and other meaner instruments of his tyranny, and accompanied by these, fled to the remote country bordering on Scythia, where he resolved to await some favorable turn in his affairs.*

Tiridates supported and encouraged by Vitellius, now advanced to the Euphrates, escorted by the Roman general with the flower of his legions and auxiliaries, and agreably to the superstitions of these times, they proceeded to offer sacrifices, those of the Romans being a swine, a ram, and a bull,† whilst the Parthian prince offered a horse, and the swelling of the Euphrates which without rain occurred at the time, was variously interpreted.

The Euphrates being crossed by means of a bridge of boats, the new monarch was immediately joined by Ornospades the governor of Mesopotamia, with several thousand horse, and afterwards by Sinnaces with additional forces, whilst his success was crowned by the arrival of Abdageses, the pillar (as Tacitus calls him,) of the party, with the king's treasure and the regalia, and Vitellius having now established him on the throne of the Arsacidæ, repassed with his legions into Syria.‡

At first every thing went smooth with Tiridates, and had he been possessed of an ordinary share of abilities, or exerted himself with a common degree of activity, there is little doubt but he would have retained his position. With the concurrence of the Parthians he took possession of Nicephorium, Anthemusias and other Greek cities founded by the Macedonians, as also the Parthian cities, Halys and Artemita, the inhabitants who execrated Artabanus for his barbarity and cruelty, receiving him with every demonstration of joy.§

The great city of Seleucia, in particular, made itself remarkable for its flattery and servility; this powerful city had a senate of 300 of the most wealthy and

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* Tacitus, Ann. B. 6, C. 36.—The account given by Josephus of these transactions, is somewhat at variance with that of Tacitus, for the former says, (Ant. B. 18, C. 4, S. 4, 5,) that Tiberius sent a letter to Vitellius, commanding him to make a league of friendship with Artabanus; he also says, that the kings of Iberia and Albania, although they afforded the Scythians a passage through their country, did not themselves oppose Artabanus, but the account of Josephus of the first matter, is inconsistent in itself, unless we suppose that the object of Tiberius was to deceive Artabanus by a show of friendship at the time, when he was in an underhand way, combining against him; whilst as to the conduct of the Northern kings, the details given by Tacitus of the battle with Orodes are so circumstantial, that we must without hesitation prefer the statement of that most faithful author, to the concise and somewhat obscure observations of Josephus, unless we could suppose these accounts to apply to a different period.

† This sacrifice was called from a junction of the names of the three animals *Suovetaurilia*.

‡ Tacitus, Ann. B. 6, C. 37. § Tacitus, B. 6, C. 41.

eminent citizens, and a considerable share of power had been enjoyed by the people previous to the reign of Artabanus, but that politic but arbitrary prince, had to forward his own interests, extended the power of the aristocracy at the expense of the people, and now Tiridates reversed this order of affairs, giving the supreme power to the people, by which means he excited the hostility of the nobles who began already to form plots against him.

Accordingly when his coronation was about to take place, he received letters from Phrahates and Hiero, who presided over two of the chief præfectures of the kingdom, requesting him to delay the ceremony until their arrival, and Tiridates probably not suspecting their design, assented to their request, and proceeded with his court to Ctesiphon then the chief residence of the Parthian kings, but finding that they delayed coming from day to day, he refused to delay the ceremony of his coronation any longer, and accordingly was crowned by Surena, in whose family was vested the hereditary distinction of performing that ceremony.*

Tiridates now committed a further error in laying siege to a strong fortress, (where Artabanus had placed his treasure† and his concubines,) when he should have advanced at once into the heart of Parthia Proper, and secured the allegiance of that important part of his dominions, and the opportunity was embraced by Phrahates, Hiero and the other malcontents who proceeded into Hyrcania, where they found Artabanus in poverty and obscurity, and obtaining a precarious subsistence by his bow; at first he was inclined to distrust them, but being convinced of their hostility to Tiridates, he collected a force of Scythians, and leaving no means untried of securing the allegiance of his subjects, and even retaining the mean apparel that he wore in his retirement, that he might attract their commiseration, he advanced towards Seleucia.

Tiridates dismayed at the approach of Artabanus, was at first doubtful what course to pursue, some of his advisers recommending him to hazard an engagement before his rival should have organised his forces, whilst Abdageses advised him to retreat into Mesopotamia, where he might be protected by the river and supported by the Elymæans, Armenians and other nations in his rear, and this advice prevailed, but the departure was so sudden, that it had every appearance of a flight,

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* Tacitus, Ann. B. 6, C. 42.

† Tacitus in a former chapter, (37,) speaks of Abdageses having brought with him the royal treasures, but probably a part remained in this fortress.

and caused such a panic amongst his followers, that in a short time he was almost entirely deserted, and with a few attendants took refuge in Syria.*

Artabanus now without further dispute, repossessed himself of the Parthian throne, and his animosity to Tiberius was manifested by a letter† which he wrote to that base and dissolute monarch, in which after reproaching him for his murders, cruelty, sloth, and licentiousness, he recommended him by a voluntary death, to afford satisfaction to the intense and most just hatred of the Roman citizens.

The object to which Artabanus first applied himself, was the recovery of Armenia, from which he speedily forced Mithridates to fly. The loss of the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th books of the annals of Tacitus, which treat of the reign of Caligula and the early part of that of Claudius, is much felt by the investigator of Parthian history, and there can be little doubt but many important particulars are there recited which are but imperfectly and obscurely supplied by other historians; these observations apply particularly to the affairs of Armenia, the grand field of contention between the Romans and Parthians, and which always followed the fortunes of the prevailing power.

We learn from Suetonius,‡ that immediately after the accession of Caligula, (A. D. 37,) the Parthian king, whose hatred and contempt of Tiberius has been just noticed, voluntarily sought for the friendship of the new emperor, and not only crossed the Euphrates for the purpose of holding a conference with the Imperial Lieutenant,§ but even debased himself so much as to adore the Roman ensigns and the images of the Cæsars, and that this servility was not thrown away on the Roman emperor, appears from the 11th book of Tacitus, C. 8, which in treating of the transactions of a subsequent period, mentions that Mithridates the deposed king of Armenia, had been sent for to Rome by Caligula; we may therefore be certain that during the four years of Caligula's reign, Artabanus's possession of Armenia remained undisturbed. Josephus whose accounts of the transactions of this period are exceedingly unsatisfactory, mentions || that Artabanus had sent his son Darius as an hostage to Rome with many presents, including a Jew named Eleazar, whose height was seven cubits, (upwards of twelve feet,) and who was called a giant, and the first part of this passage is supported by Suetonius,¶ who mentions that Caligula carried the youthful hostage, Darius before him in his chariot.

* Tacitus, Ann. B. 6, C. 44. † Suetonius in Tiber. C. 66. ‡ In Caligula, C. 14.

§ Josephus places this transaction in the reign of Tiberius, but the hostility which Artabanus evinced towards Tiberius, and his friendship for Caligula, leave no doubt that it took place in the reign of the latter. || Ant. B. 18, C. 4, S. 5. ¶ In Caligula, C. 19.

Artabanus during the remainder of his reign, which is proved by his coins to have terminated not long after that of Caligula, seems to have been at peace with Rome, but as the Parthian monarchs often experienced, a peace abroad was the signal for dissensions at home, and Artabanus finding that the governors of the provinces had entered into a conspiracy against him, thought it unsafe to remain in Parthia, so taking with him 1000 followers, he repaired to Izates, the Jewish king of Adiabene, a kingdom tributary to Parthia, and in an interview he had with that prince, obtained from him the strongest promises of assistance, Izates assuring him that he would either re-establish him in the kingdom of Parthia, or lose his own in the attempt.*

This promise was faithfully kept by Izates, who paid him all the respect due by an inferior to his superior, and wrote to the Parthians, offering his right hand and his faith for the conduct of Artabanus, and the Parthians appearing willing to receive the latter, but for their having already elected one named Cinnamus, that prince who had been brought up by Artabanus and was of a good and gentle disposition, generously waived his claim to the throne, and wrote himself to Artabanus inviting him to return. Artabanus accordingly trusted him, and returned home where he was met by Cinnamus, who taking the diadem from his own head, placed it on that of Artabanus and saluted him king.†

Artabanus being thus restored to his kingdom through the exertions of Izates, was not ungrateful for the favor, but conferred on him various honors and privileges, in particular, the liberty of wearing an upright tiara,‡ and sleeping on a golden bed, honors peculiar to the Parthian kings, but a more substantial reward bestowed on him, was a large portion of the country of Mesopotamia, then belonging to Armenia, and containing the city of Nisibis.§ Artabanus after this second restoration, lived but a short time, probably not exceeding one year, having reigned from the period of his first accession, about twenty-nine years.

The length of this prince's reign and the period of his death, are points concerning which historians and numismatic writers seem much divided. Vaillant whose system of Parthian chronology so erroneous when applied to coins, is when applied to reigns in general correct, has placed the termination of his reign at 43, A.D, Sestini at 44,

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* Josephus, Ant. B. 20, C. 3, S. 1. † Josephus, Ant. B. 20, C. 3, S. 2.

‡ This privilege seems to be illustrated by a brass coin with the date 352, corresponding with the year before Artabanus's death, which exhibits a head probably that of Izates with the Parthian tiara.

§ This district was the country of Mygdonia, lying between the Tigris and Mygdonius.

whilst M. Longperier and Mr. de Bartholomæi, fix it at 41; the question however, as the two last named writers appear to have been in some degree aware, seems to be completely decided by the dates found on the last coins of Artabanus and the first of those of his successor, for on a tetradrachm of the former, not only the date of the year 353 (41—2, A. D.,) appears, but even the month ΣΟΛΩΙΟΣ answering to the month of August, whilst on a coin of his successor Bardanes, we find the same date 353, together with the name of the month ΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΣ, answering to September; thus nearly defining the exact point of separation between the two reigns.

Of these two coins, it is probable the early writers had no knowledge, and they seem to have been led astray by a passage of Josephus,* which mentions that Izates on his accession sent some of his relations to Claudius the Roman emperor, and as all the transactions in which Artabanus and Izates were concerned, took place after this event, they imagined that at least two or three years of the reign of Artabanus, must have been concurrent with that of Claudius; to arrive however, at a just conclusion relative to this question, an attention to the date of Caligula's death, and to the period when the Parthian year commenced will be necessary.

The death of Caligula is said to have taken place on the 24th of January, A. D. 41, the concurrent Parthian date, the same as that of the Seleucidæ, being 352; but as the Parthian year commenced with November, their year 353 did not terminate until October, A.D. 42, and as we have the point of separation between the reigns of Artabanus and Bardanes exactly defined by the dates of the months of August and September 353, it will allow from January 41, to August 42, A. D., for the events we have noticed as occurring from the accession of Izates to the death of Artabanus, a period which I think will be considered fully sufficient for that purpose, and perfectly consistent with the amply detailed accounts of Josephus, relative to Izates, a subject of which he must have possessed the most accurate information.

The events of this long and troublesome reign, during which the throne was occasionally occupied by three other princes,† are far from being detailed with sufficient particularity or fidelity by the historians of that period of Parthian history, and the gap we have noticed in the annals of Tacitus, is as I have before observed greatly to be regretted; Mr. de Bartholomæi justly looks to the coinage of this reign as a medium of illustrating its history, and I perfectly agree with him; the coin of Vonones, which celebrates his victory over Artabanus, and the dates which I have noticed as separating the reign of the latter from that of Bardanes, are

* Ant. B. 20, C. 2, S. 3.

† Vonones, Tiridates, and Cinnamus.

highly illustrative, as well as the coin which from its portrait seems to belong to Izates, and from its date to mark the period of his reign, and others may occur relative to Tiridates or bearing important dates, illustrative or decisive of particular facts.

The character of Artabanus is that of a rude and uncultivated barbarian, prone to obey without control the dictates of his passions, but devoid of those crafty tricks and devices which are so common and so despicable in those who are half civilized, but more corrupted by luxury and effeminacy, ambitious, sanguinary and revengeful, he was far from being deficient in the principles of honor and fidelity, or of gratitude to those who had befriended him, and although wanting in those political talents, for which some of his predecessors were so celebrated, his abilities were yet sufficient, notwithstanding his general unpopularity, to enable him to recover his position; and enventually to surmount all those difficulties, by which during a long and most troublesome reign, he was almost perpetually surrounded.

ARSACES XX.—BARDANES—42—45, A.D.

The accounts given by Tacitus of the reigns of Bardanes and the three kings who succeeded him, enable us to trace with considerable accuracy, and to detail at some length, the events of these reigns, and the ample records supplied by Josephus as to some of these transactions are also highly important.

The reigns of Bardanes the son, and Goterzes the grandson, and adopted son of the late king, both competitors for the vacant throne, and sometimes coregnant are full of troubles and revolutions, and require much care in detailing the events of them with clearness and accuracy.

On the death of Artabanus, the throne seems to have been for a short time filled by Goterzes, who might perhaps with more propriety have been styled the 20th Arsaces, but as that prince was almost immediately displaced by Bardanes, the latter has been generally considered as such.

Who Goterzes was and what his relationship to Artabanus, does not seem to be perfectly agreed on, I shall therefore lay before the reader all the evidence I have been able to discover on the subject, and then endeavour to draw a conclusion.

Josephus* calls him the brother of Bardanes, and says that he was succeeded by his brother Vologeses, whose brothers Pacorus and Tiridates were appointed to the

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* Ant., B. 20, C. 3, S. 4.

kingdoms of Media and Armenia. He also mentions that Artabanus left the kingdom to his son Bardanes.

Tacitus* mentions that he had effected the murder of his brother Artabanus with that of his wife and son, and calls him the brother of Bardanes, he also speaks of Pacorus and Tiridates as the brothers of Vologeses, but makes the last named prince, as he certainly was the son of Vonones II.

It also appears from Tacitus,† that king Artabanus had another son Orodes, whom he placed at the head of the Parthian army, and who was severely wounded in the great battle with the Armenians, and Josephus also mentions this Orodes who he says was appointed king of Armenia by his father Artabanus,‡ and another son Darius.

From this evidence, the natural conclusion would be, that Orodes, Artabanus, Darius, Goterzes and Bardanes, were all sons of king Artabanes III., rejecting however, the testimony of Josephus, as to Vologeses, Pacorus, and Tiridates being their brothers, as being not only contrary to the accounts of Tacitus, but unlikely for many other reasons.

Another piece of evidence however arises, which is the strongest of all, and which singular as it may appear, suggests an explanation of the whole matter, in a different way, although perfectly consistent with the evidence I have just recited.

This testimony is afforded by certain coins of Goterzes, which bear the singular and barbarous legend ΒΑCΛΙЄ . . ΠACΛIЄѠN . ΑΡCΑΝΟΥ . ΓѠΤЄΡΖΗC . ΥΟC . ΚЄΚΑΛЄΥΑCΝΠC . ΑΡΤΑΠΑΝΟΥ ; evidently intended for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΗΣ . ΓΩΤΕΡΖΗΣ . ΥΙΟΣ . ΚΕΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ (or ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ .) ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ . The king of kings, Arsaces Goterzes the named (or called) son of Artabanus.

From this legend it appears certain that Goterzes was not the son of Artabanus, but as he was unquestionably one of the family of that prince, we may I think fairly suppose that he was his grandson, and a son of his eldest son Orodes, then deceased, the Artabanus who was murdered at the instigation of Goterzes being another.

Mr. De Bartholomæi who may possibly be aware of evidence still stronger than that I have adduced, has taken the same view of the matter, and without hesitation, calls Goterzes the nephew of Bardanes, and adopted son of Artabanus. Such therefore he may be fairly considered, and it is also nearly certain that on the death of Artabanus he took possession of the throne, but on account of his cruelty, and having concerted the murder of his brother Artabanus, his wife and children,§ the

* Ann., B. 11, C. 8, 9. † Ann., B. 6, C. 33. ‡ Ant., B. 18, C. 2, S. 4.
§ Tacitus Ann., B. 11, C. 8.

Parthians invited Bardanes to the throne, and this active and able prince responded to the call with such expedition, that according to Tacitus, in two days he travelled a distance equal to upwards of two hundred English miles, and drove Goterzes from the throne.

Bardanes quickly made himself master of the neighbouring provinces, but seems to have committed an oversight, in spending much time in attempting to reduce the city of Seleucia which had set him at defiance, whilst Goterzes having received reinforcements from the Dahi, and Hyrcanians renewed the war, and not only compelled his rival to raise the siege of Seleucia, but drove him into Bactria.

And now Mithridates with the Iberians assisted by the Romans, taking advantage of the Parthian dissensions, overran Armenia, and having defeated Demonax the governor of that country, possessed himself of it, but as Tacitus mentions, abused the power entrusted to him.

The rival kings of Parthia in the mean time were busy in making preparations for a battle which should decide the struggle, but the conflict was prevented by the discovery of a conspiracy which probably had for its object the setting aside both princes, and which Goterzes communicated to his rival, the consequence of which was, that these princes met, and having joined hands, entered into an engagement on the altar of their gods, to avenge themselves on the traitors, and to adjust their own differences,* and they seemed to have made a partition of the kingdom, Bardanes retaining the western provinces and Goterzes the eastern,† whilst the important city of Seleucia after a revolt of seven years, surrendered to Bardanes, who being now possessed of by far the most important part of the Parthian dominions, and finding himself very powerful, proceeded to the recovery of Armenia, and endeavoured to prevail on Izates, king of Adiabene‡ to join him, but that prince, whose sons five in number, were then at Rome, and who did not wish to incur the displeasure of that Empire, declined assisting him, and Vibius Marsus, the Roman Lieutenant in Syria, having threatened him with war, Bardanes was forced to reitire.§

The abilities of Bardanes, like those of most of his predecessors, seem to have been better adapted for war than peace, and as Tacitus justly observes, the yoke

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* Tacitus, Ann., B. 11, C. 9.

† This is probably the reason why we have no coins of Goterzes bearing dates during his joint reign with Bardanes, the tetradrachms on which alone at that period with one or two exceptions, dates appear, being almost invariably struck in the Western provinces.

‡ Josephus, Ant., B. 20, C. 3, S. 4. § Tacitus, Ann., B. 11, C. 10.

of slavery being felt by the nobility more sensibly in time of peace, they recalled Goterzes, who having formed an army, was met by Bardanes at the river Charinda, and defeated, and the latter following up his victory, subdued all the nations between that river and the Gyndes, which parts the Dahi from the Arii; he would have even extended his conquests further, but his soldiers unwilling to serve so far from home, refused to follow him; having therefore, erected monuments, testifying that none of his predecessors had obtained tribute from these nations, he returned triumphantly home.*

His conduct now however, became still more overbearing and insupportable, and a conspiracy was entered into against him, and a hunting party affording an opportunity, he was assassinated after a short but glorious reign of about four years.

Josephus† seems to be of opinion that the cause of his assassination was the objection his subjects had to a war with the Romans, and with Izates on which Bardanes appeared to be intent.

The character of this prince may be described in a few words, his talents particularly as a general, were unquestionably of the very first order, they were however, in many instances counteracted by an imperiousness of disposition and an inordinate love of pleasure, but as Tacitus observes, he would although in the flower, of his age, have been equalled in renown by few aged kings, had he studied to be beloved among his countrymen as much as he did to be feared among his enemies.

ARSACES XXI.—GOTERZES.—45—51, A.D.

On the death of Bardanes, the Parthians were divided in their choice of a successor, some espousing the cause of Goterzes, the nephew and so long the rival of the late king, whilst others were for setting up Meherdates the son of Vonones, and grandson of Phrahates IV., and by him given as a hostage to the Romans; Goterzes however, being at hand, was successful, but his cruelty and luxury were so excessive, that the Parthians were forced to send a private embassy to Rome, to solicit the Emperor Claudius for permission to Meherdates to ascend the throne of his ancestors; the exact date of this embassy, is fixed by Tacitus,‡ who mentions

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* Tacitus, Ann., B. 11, C. 10. † Ant. B. 20, C. 3, S. 4.

‡ Ann., B. 11, C. 10.

that the Secular Games were then celebrated 800 years after the building of the city, corresponding with the year* A. D. 47, but it would appear as if the ambassadors' introduction to the senate was in the year after.†

The ambassadors stated that they were aware of the treaty between Rome and Parthia, and did not wish to revolt from the family of the Arsacidæ, but to declare their attachment to the son of Vonones, and grandson of Phrahates, that he might rescue them from the tyranny of Goterzes, whose brothers and kinsfolk, and even their pregnant wives and tender children were cut off by him, whilst his sloth, cruelty and cowardice were intolerable, that the Parthians were the allies of the Romans, and ought to receive assistance from them, as although rivals in power, they yielded the first place to the Romans, and that the sons of their kings were given as hostages to the Romans, with the understanding, that when a change in their domestic government should become necessary, they might receive from the emperor and senate a new and better king, trained up in the manners and habits of the Romans.

Claudius‡ gave a favorable answer to this request, and after giving some good advice to Meherdates, recommending him not to consider his government as a tyranny and his people as slaves, but to look on himself rather as a chief magistrate, and his people as fellow-citizens, and advising the ambassadors also on the part of the people, to bear with the humours of their kings, and avoid frequent changes, which were generally injurious to their interests, he gave orders to Caius Cassius, governor of Syria, to conduct the young king to the banks of the Euphrates.

Cassius§ having arrived at Zeugma, the most convenient place for crossing the river, and summoned a council of those Parthian leaders, who were favorable to Meherdates, including also Abgarus, king of the Arabs, (commonly called king of Edessa), who had joined them, advised Meherdates to lose no time in pressing forward, reminding him that the barbarians were always impetuous in the commencement, but, lose their energy by delay.

This advice was neglected by Meherdates, who possessed by the idea, that the essence of royalty was luxury, was treacherously detained by Abgarus, at Edessa, and, although anxiously pressed by Carrhenes to advance, who assured him of success, he proceeded into Armenia, a country then almost impassable from the setting in of winter, instead of entering Mesopotamia, which was near at hand.

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* Vaillant in his Canon, Chronologicus, p. 12, fixes this application to Claudius at two years later, but at p. 236, he assigns the true date.

† Ann., B. 12, C. 10. ‡ Ann., B. 12, C. 11. § Tacitus, Ann., B. 12, C. 12.

The consequences of this delay were fatal to the interest of Meherdates, who now wearied with the difficulties of his passage through Armenia, descended into the plains where he was joined by Carrhenes, and the Parthian forces ;* he then crossed the Tigris, and the country of Adiabene, whose king, Izates, gave a favourable reception to Meherdates, although secretly he espoused the cause of Goterzes, and the city of Ninos (or Nineveh), the ancient seat of the Assyrian empire, and the castle of Arbela, the scene of the great battle between Alexander and Darius submitted to him.

The policy of Goterzes,† in the meantime was procrastination, and an endeavour to tamper with the allies of Meherdates, and induce them by bribes to renounce their engagements, and in this he was successful, for Izates and Abgarus, whose adhesion from the beginning seemed very questionable, went off with their forces, and Meherdates apprehensive that others might follow their example, adopted that resolution which he ought to have taken in the commencement, namely to try the fortune of a battle.

Goterzes encouraged by the success of his machinations, thought it a favorable opportunity to accept the challenge, and a sanguinary conflict ensued, which was at first in favor of Meherdates, but Carrhenes his general, having pursued his advantage too far, he was cut off from his main body, and the battle gained by his antagonist.

Meherdates was betrayed by one Parrhaces, a dependent of his fathers, in whom he placed confidence, and delivered up to Goterzes, who cut off his ears and bid him live as a memorial of his own clemency, and of Roman degradation.

Goterzes soon after this triumph fell sick‡ and died, having reigned about six years from the death of Bardanes, a shorter reign is indeed generally assigned

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* Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 13.

† Tacitus (Ann. B. 12, C. 13), gives an amusing instance of the power of superstition over a barbarous and credulous people, and of the extraordinary faith they reposed in their priesthood, who seem to have discovered an ingenious mode of gratifying their passion for field sports. He says, " Goterzes, was at this time sacrificing on Mount Sambulos to the Gods of the place, and with particular solemnity to Hercules, who at stated times, warns the priests in a dream to prepare him horses equipped for hunting, and place them by the temple ; the horses when furnished with quivers full of arrows, scour the forests and return at night with empty quivers, panting vehemently ; the god then in another nocturnal vision describes his course through the woods, and beasts are found stretched on the ground in all directions."

‡ Josephus Ant., B. 20, C. 3, S. 4, says, he perished by a plot formed against him.

him, Lewis and Mr. De Bartholomæi, estimate it altogether at five years, and Vaillant says, he reigned at first (that is before Bardanes), one year and some months, and afterwards three years and some months, making about five altogether, but those unerring witnesses, the dates on his coins and those of his predecessors and successor, prove that his reign began in 357, Aer. Seleuc., and terminated in 363, for we have the date 357 on coins both of Bardanes and Goterzes, and 363, on those of Vonones, who only reigned a few months; it is therefore probable, that he reigned from the death of Bardanes nearly six years, and M. Longperier is of the same opinion, although he had not the advantage of being aware of the evidence afforded by the tetradrachm of Vonones, with date 363, and which so completely establishes the fact.

The character of Goterzes, seems to have been strongly marked by apathy and indecision, and to have been possessed of but few redeeming qualities; cruel and sanguinary, particularly in the commencement of his reign, and dissolute and luxurious at all times, he was far inferior to his predecessor in courage and abilities, although superior to him in cunning and in caution; he did not, however, appear to have profited by the lessons of adversity he received in the early part of his reign, and he would probably have been compelled to yield the kingdom to Meherdates, had not the jealousy of Roman interference influenced his subjects in their choice of a king.

ARSACES XXII.—VONONES II.—51, A.D.

This short reign presents almost a blank in the history of Parthia, indeed some writers have not noticed it at all, Josephus saying, that Goterzes was succeeded by Vologeses, whilst Tacitus* only says, that Vonones was only governor of Media, when he was called to the Parthian throne, that his reign was short and inglorious, and distinguished by nothing prosperous or adverse, and that he was succeeded by his son Vologeses; Lewis† and Vaillant‡, on the authority of Philostratus, say that he was the younger brother of Artabanus III., and appointed by Bardanes to the kingdom of Media, and I have little doubt but they are correct, and that his reign was only of a few months duration, and this also is likely to be correct, as we have the date 362, Aer. Seleuc., on coins of Goterzes, 363, on those of Vonones, and 364 on those of Vologeses I.

Ann., B. 12, C. 14. † p. 256. ‡ p. 245.

It is highly probable he was a prince of prudence and moderation, or we should have found his name amongst the records of the three former reigns, a period of 38 years; the blanks presented by history, include indeed often periods of the greatest national prosperity, and characters nearly unnoticed by the annalist, are far from being the least deserving of praise or encomium.

ARSACES XXIII.—VOLOGESES I.—51—62. A.D.

The transactions of this prince's reign are detailed at considerable length by Tacitus and Josephus; the former* relates that Vologeses, although the son of a Greek concubine, obtained the crown by the cession of his brother, (the sons of Vonones by his Queen), that the kingdom of Iberia was long possessed by Pharasmanes, whilst his brother Mithridates was by the interest and support of the Romans, in possession of Armenia.

Pharasmanes had now grown up a son, named Rhadamistus, of a noble stature and great strength, in much repute with the neighbouring nations and of great ambition; this prince discontented that the kingdom of Iberia should be so long retained from him by the protracted age of his father, could not conceal his ambitious views, and his father on becoming acquainted with them and fearing the popularity of his son, thought it prudent to direct the attention of the latter to some other object, he therefore held out to him the prospect of gaining Armenia, then possessed by his uncle Mithridates, but advising him to have recourse to stratagem and not to violence.

In pursuance of this plan, therefore, Rhadamistus, pretending a quarrel with his father, and ill treatment by his step-mother, withdrew to the court of Mithridates, where he was kindly received by that prince, as if he was one of his own children; notwithstanding which, this ungrateful and base-minded prince, embraced the opportunity to draw into a conspiracy the nobility of Armenia, and Rhadamistus, now finding Armenia ripe for a revolt, returned to his father, with whom he pretended to be reconciled, and the latter under the pretence that his brother Mithridates had prevented his obtaining assistance from the Romans in his war with the Albanians, suddenly invaded the kingdom of Armenia, and forced Mithridates to take refuge in the fortress of Gorneas naturally strong, and defended by a Roman garrison under Celius Pollio, the Præfect, and Casperius, a Centurion.†

* Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 44.

† Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 45.

Rhadamistus now assaulted the fortress, but his forces being in matters relating to fortification, altogether unequal to the Romans, was repulsed with loss, and having tried in vain a siege of the place, he had recourse to corruption, and attempted to bribe the Præfect, who was for some time restrained by the superior honesty of the Centurion ; Pollio, however, at length pleading the multitude of the enemy, and Rhadamistus, the orders of his father, Casperius negotiated a truce, and departed either for the purpose of deterring Pharasmanes from his aggressions, or of informing Quadratus, the governor of Syria, of the state of affairs in Armenia.

Pollio, now unrestrained by the presence of Casperius, proceeded to put in practice his insidious and corrupt designs, and commenced by recommending Mithridates to make up matters with Pharasmanes, to whom, as his elder brother, he should yield deference, he having besides received his daughter in marriage, and given his own to Rhadamistus, he also represented that the Iberians, although superior in strength were inclined for peace, and that the Armenians were noted for treachery, whilst he had no other refuge than a castle destitute of stores ; but his representations had no effect on Mithridates, who suspected his advice.*

Casperius, in the meantime, endeavoured to prevail on Pharasmanes to withdraw the Iberians from the siege, but the latter at the same time that he appeared to yield to the persuasions of Casperius, privately sent directions to Rhadamistus to push the attack by every means in his power.

Pollio, now having corrupted the soldiers, and induced them to demand peace, and threaten to leave the garrison, whilst the siege was vigorously pressed by Rhadamistus, Mithridates was forced to capitulate and abandon the place.†

The conduct of Rhadamistus on this occasion was base and treacherous in the extreme, for he received his uncle with open arms, embraced him and swore that he intended him no violence either by the sword or by poison, drawing him at the same time into a neighbouring grove, where he said a sacrifice was provided, that the peace might be confirmed in the presence of their gods ; there is a custom amongst these kings, as Tacitus has observed,‡ whenever they enter into a treaty, to join their right hands, and have their thumbs bound together with a knot, and when the blood has flowed into the extremities to extract it by a slight stroke, and for each to suck that of the other, and this treaty is then considered as most sacred.

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* Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 46. † Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 46.

‡ Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 47.

Whilst engaged in this ceremony, the person who tied the knot, pretending to fall, seized the knees of Mithridates, and threw him on the ground, whilst others bound him with chains and fetters, and the populace accustomed to tyranny pursued him with execrations and stripes. His wife and children followed with loud lamentations, and were removed in different covered vehicles, until the pleasure of Pharasmanes should be ascertained, whose thirst for power so greatly exceeded his affection for his brother and daughter, and whose mind was prepared for every villainy; he spared himself, however, the sight of his victims in putting them to death ; Rhadamistus, also pretending to observe his oath, used neither the sword nor poison against his sister and his uncle ; but caused them to be thrown on the ground and smothered with a heap of clothes; the children of Mithridates, also, because they wept at the murder of their parents, were mercilessly butchered.

Quadratus, the Roman General, learning that Mithridates was betrayed, and his kingdom in possession of his murderers, called a council, laid before it what had occurred, and asked whether it would be advisable to revenge it; by most of them the public honor seemed to be but little cared for, and prudential motives prevailed, but lest they should appear to approve of such wickedness, and Cæsar* might think differently, messengers were sent to Pharasmanes, requiring him to evacuate the Armenian territory, and remove also his son.

Julius Pelignus, was at that time Procurator of Cappadocia, and having collected the Provincial allies, as if for the purpose of recovering Armenia, he committed depredations rather against his allies than his enemies, and the consequence was that he was deserted by his forces, whilst he was harrassed by incursions of the Barbarians, and thus situated, he was induced to fly to Rhadamistus, by whom he was so loaded with gifts, that he of his own accord pressed him to assume the Regal dignity.

As soon however, as intelligence of this event became known, that others might not be judged of from the conduct of Pelignus, Helvidius Priscus was sent as Lieutenant, with a Legion, to settle for a time the confusion which had arisen in the affairs of Armenia, and that general quickly crossing Mount Taurus, succeeded in settling matters more by moderation than by force, when he was ordered to return into Syria, lest it should be a cause of war with the Parthians.†

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* Claudius the reigning Emperor.

† Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 49.

Vologeses indeed supposing that an opportunity had arrived for invading Armenia, a country possessed by his ancestors, but of which the baseness of a foreign king had deprived him, collected his forces, and prepared to invest Tiridates with the kingdom, that no part of his family should be without Royal power.

At the approach of the Parthians, the Iberians fled without a battle, and the Armenian cities, Artaxata and Tigranocerta, submitted, but a severe winter and a scarcity of provisions, and their consequences a pestilence compelled Vologeses to relinquish his expedition.*

Rhadamistus, therefore, proceeded to take possession of the vacant throne of Armenia, and now become more cruel than ever, to treat the people of that country as rebels, who would again revolt if an opportunity were afforded them; accustomed however, as they were to slavery, their patience was utterly exhausted, and they surrounded the palace with armed men, and no chance of safety was left for Rhadamistus, but in the fleetness of the horses on which he mounted himself and his wife. The latter then in a state of pregnancy, at first from fear of the enemy and love for her husband, bore her flight with fortitude, but soon experiencing the effects of such violent and intolerable motion, she begged of her husband to rescue her from the evils of captivity, by inflicting on her an honorable death. Her husband admiring her virtue, and agitated by the fear of her being possessed by another, embraced her and endeavoured to comfort and encourage her, but finally, from the violence of his love and familiarity with deeds of blood, he drew his scimitar and wounded her, and then dragging the body to the banks of the Araxes, consigned it to the flood, that even when dead it should not be carried off by any one; he then mounting his horse fled to Iberia, his father's kingdom.†

In the mean time his wife, whose name was Zenobia, was perceived by Shepherds, and being taken up and found to exhibit signs of life, they bound her wounds and administered such rustic medicines as they were acquainted with, and having ascertained her name, and the misfortunes which had occurred to her, conducted her to the city of Artaxata, from whence, at the public charge, she was brought before Tiridates, who received her courteously and caused her to be clad in a royal dress.

A little before this (54, A.D.) the Emperor Claudius died, and was succeeded by Nero; Armenia also was occupied by Tiridates, whom his brother, Vologeses, had appointed king on the expulsion of Rhadamistus.

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* Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 50.

† Tacitus Ann., B. 12, C. 51.

The news of the Parthians having again taken possession of Armenia, seems to have excited a considerable sensation at Rome, where the people considered the Emperor, then only 17 years of age, as ill suited to the conduct of affairs on such an emergency. Nero, however, does not appear to have been inactive on this important occasion, for he ordered the young soldiers, raised in the neighbouring provinces for filling up the eastern legions, to be brought up, and the legions themselves to be moved nearer to Armenia; he also directed the two ancient kings, Agrippa of Judea and Antiochus of Commagene, to hasten their forces for the purpose of invading the Parthian territories, and at the same time, ordered bridges to be thrown over the Euphrates, and he appointed Domitius Corbulo to the important office of defending Armenia.*

An attempt made by Vologeses to oppress the old friend and ally of his uncle Artabanus, Izates, king of Adiabene, is recorded at length by Josephus, and although the exact year cannot be ascertained, probably occurred about this time, and its abortive termination seems to have been a providential and most deserved punishment, for an act of gratuitous and unprovoked aggression.

Izates, the religious and enlightened king of Adiabene, had, it will be recollected, embraced the religion of the Jews, an act which had given offence to the nobility of his kingdom, and about this period his brother, Monobazus, influenced probably by the respect and esteem which Izates had acquired, appeared desirous of embracing the religion of the latter, which increased still more the disaffection of the nobles, and they, therefore, applied to Abia, king of the Arabians, promising him a large sum of money if he would attack their king, and engaging to desert the latter on the first onset.

Abia having complied with their request, and invaded the kingdom of Izates, was met by that prince, and the Armenian nobility as they had promised deserted their king on the first onset; Izates, however, undismayed retired into his camp, and having ascertained who the conspirators were, he the next day renewed the fight, and his enemies were so utterly discomfited that the greater part of them were slain, whilst Abia with the remainder fled for refuge to the fortress of Arsamus, which Izates immediately invested and compelled it to surrender, on which Abia finding escape impossible, slew himself, and Izates having possessed himself of the spoils contained in it, returned to Adiabene.

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* Tacitus Ann., B. 13, C. 7, 8.

The Armenian nobility still anxious to effect the destruction of Izates now applied for assistance to Vologeses, the Parthian king, requesting he would dethrone that prince, and give them as king one of the family of the Arsacidæ.

The request was readily responded to by Vologeses, who, however, could think of no other pretext for so gross an act of injustice than that of demanding back the honorable privileges which the gratitude of Artabanus had conferred upon Izates, to whom, as formerly related, that monarch was even indebted for his throne.

Izates justly suspecting that his acquiescence in such demands would not satisfy the Parthian, and that they were in reality only a pretence, thought it more prudent at once to refuse compliance, and accordingly having shut up his wives and children in a strong fortress, laid up his corn in the citadels, and set fire to the hay and grass, he awaited the approach of the enemy, who now came on with the utmost rapidity and in great numbers, and having arrived on the bank of the river,* which separates Adiabene from Media, threw up a large bank there, whilst Izates pitched his camp not far off having with him 6000 horse.

A pompous message now arrived to Izates, from the Parthian king, magnifying his power, boasting that his dominions extended from the Euphrates to Bactria, enumerating the nations which were subject to him; threatening him with punishment for his ingratitude and disrespect to his supreme lord, and saying that the God whom he worshipped could not deliver him out of Vologeses' hands.

To this arrogant message Izates replied, that he knew the king of Parthia's power was much greater than his own, but that he knew also, that God was much more powerful than man. He then cast himself on the ground and fasted, calling fervently on God to assist him, and manifest the divine power in the discomfiture of one who had so arrogantly denied it, and the supplications of this good and pious prince were heard, and remarkably answered, for on that very night the proud Vologeses received intelligence that a large body of the Dahæ and Sacæ, taking advantage of his absence from his own country, had entered Parthia and ravaged it, on which Vologeses retired home, and Izates experienced no further molestation.†

At the time of Corbulo's appointment, a rival to Vologeses, started up in the person of his son Vardanes, or as some conjecture the son of the late king Bardanes,‡ and the Parthians withdrew from Armenia, leaving however Tiridates in possession of that kingdom.

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* This river was probably the Lycus. † Josephus Ant., B. 20, C. 4, S. 2.

‡ It is not improbable that this individual about whom so little appears to be known, was the Prince whom M. Longperièr has so satisfactorily proved to have succeeded Vologeses about 62, A.D., and to

The Roman forces in the east were so divided, that part of the auxiliaries with two legions remained in Syria, under the Lieutenant Numidius Quadratus, and that an equal number of the Romans and their allies should be attached to Corbulo, with the addition of the cohorts and cavalry,* that wintered in Cappadocia, whilst their royal allies were directed to act in obedience to the Roman commanders, as the circumstances of the war might require.

Corbulo proceeding to Rome with great expedition, was met at Aegæ, a city of Cilicia, by Quadratus, whose object in thus coming to meet him, was to prevent his proceeding into Syria, for the purpose of receiving the forces which had been allotted him, Quadratus being jealous of the popularity which Corbulo would be likely to acquire from his majestic appearance, his eloquence, experience and wisdom; both generals however, by their ambassadors recommended Vologeses to prefer peace to war, and by giving hostages, to continue to the Roman people that homage which was accustomed to be paid by his ancestors.

Vologeses readily adopted this advice, answering as it did the double purpose of enabling him to prepare for war, whilst he seemed to be desirous of peace, and of removing from Parthia those rivals, whose designs he suspected, and he accordingly delivered up as hostages the most distinguished of the family of the Arsacidæ, who were received by Histiæus, a centurion sent by Numidius, and who waited on the king for that purpose, which being made known to Corbulo, he ordered Arrius Varus, the Præfect of a cohort, to go and receive the hostages, on which arose a dispute between the Præfect and the Centurion, but that the matter might no longer be an exhibition to foreign nations, the decision of it was left to the hostages themselves, and the deputies who conducted them, and they gave the preference to Corbulo, on account of his recent fame, and a prepossession entertained even by his enemies. A dispute then arose between the generals themselves, which Nero attempted to heal, by directing that for the successes of Corbulo and Quadratus, the imperial fasces should be ornamented with laurel.† In the

have been called Artabanus IV., and it is also just as probable that he was the son of Bardanes, as of Vologeses, as we have no authority in proof of either; the rule which seems to have been followed relative to the succession to the Parthian throne, was that if the deceased king left a son of mature age, he was preferred to any other person; otherwise the nearest qualified relative of the race of the Arsacidæ was chosen, and often probably with an understanding, that on the death of the person so chosen, the succession should revert to the issue of the former king.

* The term *Alæ*, does not exclusively signify cavalry, but includes auxiliaries, both horse and foot, who were generally the *wings* of the army. † Tacitus Ann., B. 13, C. 9.

beginning of the next year, (59, A.D.,) war was actively renewed between the Romans and Parthians, for the possession of Armenia ; Vologeses being unwilling that that kingdom should be taken from his brother Tiridates, or that he should be indebted for it to the Roman people, whilst Corbulo, thought it unbecoming the dignity of the Romans to lose a province, which had been acquired by Lucullus and Pompey, as to the Armenians themselves, their fidelity to either party was very uncertain, and they seemed to invite the arms of both, although from a similarity of manners with the Parthians, from conjugal alliances with them, and a natural distaste for freedom, they were certainly more inclined towards that people.

Corbulo, however, had more to struggle with in the want of energy in his soldiers than in the perfidy of the enemy, for the legions which were brought up from Syria, rendered slothful by a long peace, submitted with reluctance to Roman discipline, and it was sufficiently evident that there were in that army, veterans who never either mounted guard or belonged to the nightly watch, and who viewed an intrenchment or a ditch as new and wonderful things, and were without helmets or breast-plates, fops in their apparel, mercenary in disposition, and who had served their military apprenticeship only in the towns ; he therefore discharged those who from age or ill-health were unfit for service, and endeavoured to supply their place by levies from Galatia and Cappadocia ; a legion from Germany was also added, with some cavalry from the wings,* and detachments of infantry from the cohorts, and the whole army was kept under tents,† but such was the severity of the winter, that the ground which was covered with ice, could not without being dug up, afford a place for them ; the limbs of many were paralysed by the cold, and some perished on their watch, whilst Corbulo himself thinly clad and bareheaded, exhibited an example of courage and fortitude, but punished with the utmost severity those who neglected their duty, and those who deserted their standards atoned for it with their lives.‡

In the meantime, Corbulo having kept his legions within their camp, until the return of Spring, and disposed of his auxiliary cohorts in convenient places, commanded his troops to do nothing that might provoke a battle.

Tiridates in addition to his own subjects, being assisted by the forces of his brother Vologeses, instead of the furtive attempts he had hitherto had recourse to,

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* The auxiliaries.

† The word " pellibus" shews, that the tents were composed of skins.

‡ Tacitus Ann., B. 13, C. 35.

now attacked Armenia with open war, and plundered those whom he supposed to be faithful to the Romans, and if forces were sent against him he eluded them, flying from place to place, and accomplished more by the terror of his name than by fighting.

Corbulo, therefore, having long endeavoured to bring the enemy to an engagement, now considering it as fruitless, and compelled to follow the example of the enemy in adopting a desultory system of warfare, divided his forces so that the Lieutenants and Præfects might attack different places at the same time.

The designs of Tiridates being thus frustrated, he sent ambassadors to expostulate and inquire in his own name and that of the Parthians, why after having given hostages and renewed an alliance, calculated to lead to additional and mutual good offices, he should be driven from the possession of Armenia; they were also to state that Vologeses himself had not yet taken any part in the matter, wishing that it should be settled by reason rather than by force, but if war should be persisted in, the valour and good fortune of the Arsacidæ, which the Romans had so often experienced to their cost would no longer be wanting.

Corbulo, who had in the meantime ascertained that Vologeses was detained in Parthia, by the revolt of the Hyrcanians, in reply recommended Tiridates to throw himself on the clemency of the Emperor, by which means he would secure his kingdom without bloodshed, and giving up remote prospects of advantage, endeavour to secure nearer and more attainable ones.

No progress, however, in the attainment of peace being made by the interchange of ambassadors, the time and place for an interview was at length fixed. Tiridates proposed that he should be allowed to attend it with 1,000 horse, but would not object to Corbulo's being attended by any number, and of any kind he pleased, provided they came without helmets or breast-plates, as a proof of their peaceable intentions; which proposition, as Tacitus observes, must to any one, much less to an old and cautious leader, have exposed the cunning of the Barbarian, and proved that treachery was meditated; for, against a body of horsemen experienced in the use of the bow, numbers would avail nothing, if their persons were unarmed and exposed. Corbulo, however, concealing his suspicions, answered, that those matters which related to public affairs, were better discussed in the presence of both armies, and immediately proceeded to chuse a situation, part of which was composed of hills, gently rising, and adapted for infantry, and part extended into the plain, and suitable for the movements of cavalry.

On the appointed day, Corbulo, who was the first in the field, placed his auxiliary cohorts and the troops furnished by the kings on the wings, and in the middle, the 6th legion, with which he had incorporated 3,000 men of the 3rd legion, which he had brought by night from another camp, all under one eagle, to give them the appearance of a single legion.

Tiridates did not make his appearance until the day was about to close, when he stood at such a distance, that he could be more easily seen than heard; and the Roman general finding that no conference would take place, ordered his troops to retire to their camps.* (Aer. Sel. 370.) Tiridates also, whether from a suspicion of fraud, seeing the Romans depart in different directions, or from a desire to intercept the Roman provisions coming from the Euxine and city of Trapezus, retired in haste; but, as the provisions were brought over the mountains, which were occupied by Roman garrisons, he could not lay hands on them.

Corbulo, that the war might not be carried on without some effect, and in order to compel the Armenians to defend themselves, now proceeded to reduce the fortresses, and reserving for himself Volandum, the strongest in that præfectship, he left to Cornelius Flaccus, his Lieutenant, and Fonteius Capito, the Præfect of the camp, the reduction of the inferior ones; then having inspected the fortifications, and provided everything necessary for storming them, he exhorted his men to expel from their strongholds a wandering enemy, prepared neither for peace or war, but by their flight confessing their perfidy and cowardice, and thus obtain both glory and spoil. He then divided his forces into four divisions, and the first collected together in the form of a Testudo, he brought up to undermine the rampart; another division were ordered to apply the scaling ladders to the walls, and a third to cast from the engines, torches and javelins, whilst to the engineers and slingers was allotted the duty of discharging at a distance their various missiles, that no part of the enemy, from the fear which prevailed in every direction might be able to bear assistance to another.

Such was the enthusiasm of the army, that within a third part of a day the walls were stript of their defenders, the barriers of the gates overturned, the fortifications scaled, and all of the age of puberty put to the sword without a single soldier of the Roman army being killed, or more than a very few wounded.†

The Lieutenant and Præfect were equally successful—three castles being stormed in one day, whilst the rest, some through terror and others through inclination,

* Tacitus Ann., B. 13, C. 38.

† Tacitus Ann., B. 13, C. 39.

surrendered, and these successes gave the Romans courage to attempt Artaxata, the capital of the kingdom. The Legions, however, were not conducted by the nearest route, for if they crossed the Araxes by the bridge, they would have been exposed to the weapons of the enemy, and a passage by fording was accordingly made at a more distant spot, where the stream was broader and more shallow.

Tiridates was now oppressed by shame and fear, for if he allowed the siege to take place, it would be acknowledging himself powerless, whilst if he attempted to prevent it, he would embarrass his cavalry by the difficulty of their position, and at last came to the resolution of displaying his line, and at day break beginning the battle, or by pretending flight, to draw his adversary into a snare. He, therefore, suddenly surrounded the Roman army ; Corbulo, however, was not taken by surprise, having drawn up his army in a form equally adapted for marching or fighting.

On the right marched the 3rd Legion, on the left the 6th, whilst the centre was occupied by a chosen detachment from the 10th ; within the lines was the baggage, and the rear was defended by 1,000 horse. The orders of Corbulo, were to engage hand to hand with the enemy if they pressed on them, but not to pursue if they fled. On the wings were placed the infantry archers, and the remainder of the cavalry, the left wing being more extended through the lower part of the hills, that if the enemy made an irruption at that point, he might be received by the front and centre.

In the meantime, Tiridates advanced to the assault from different sides, but without coming within throw of a weapon ; at one time appearing to threaten, at another to waver, that the Romans might relax their order of battle and pursue in different directions. When, however, he found that the Romans remained firm, and were even confirmed in their steadiness by the fate of a captain of cavalry, who boldly advancing too far, fell, pierced by the arrows of the Parthians, he drew off his forces, night then setting in.*

Corbulo pitched his camp upon the spot, but was in doubt whether he should proceed in the night by forced march to Artaxata, and lay siege to it, supposing Tiridates had gone thither ; but when his spies reported that the king's flight was to a distant quarter, whether to Albania or Media was uncertain, he waited until day light, but sent forward the light armed troops to surround the walls and begin the attack at a distance ; the townsmen, however, opened the gates of their own accord, and gave up themselves and their effects to the Romans, by which means they provided for their own safety.

* Tacitus, Ann., B. 13, C. 40.

Artaxata was now set fire to, and levelled with the ground, as from the extent of its walls it could not be held without a very strong garrison, nor did the Roman forces admit of their being divided, and if it was left intact and undefended, the utility and glory of taking it would be lost.

A prodigy at this time is said to have occurred, for whilst every thing outside the walls was strongly illuminated by the sun, the interior was suddenly covered with a dark cloud, and divided by flashes of lightning, as if the city was devoted to the divine wrath.

Nero on account of these successes, was publicly saluted as emperor, and by a decree of the Senate, supplications to the Gods were decreed.* (371 Aer. Seleuc.)

After the destruction of Artaxata, Corbulo taking advantage of the terror he had inspired, hastened to possess himself of Tigranocerta, by the destruction of which he would cause still greater terror, or if he spared it, he would acquire a character for moderation ; his march, however, was without any display of hostility, that he might not deprive them of all hopes of pardon, but yet without any relaxation of discipline, knowing that the Parthians were a nation fond of change, and although slow in encountering danger not to be depended on.

The Barbarians† according to the disposition of each, threw themselves on his mercy, with supplications, or deserted their villages, and betook themselves to the wilderness, whilst others concealed in caves themselves and their effects.

The Roman general on the other hand, treated with clemency those who had submitted, and pursued with expedition those who fled, but altogether unrelenting to those who hid themselves, he filled the mouths of the caves with faggots and branches, and burned them out ; as he passed however, the confines of the Mardi, he was harrassed by depredations from that nation, but Corbulo having set the Iberi against them, laid waste their territories, and so revenged himself on an audacious enemy, at the expense only of some foreign blood.‡

The progress of Corbulo, although he suffered nothing from encounters with the enemy, was attended with much suffering, for exclusive of the fatigue the army underwent in long marches under a Summer sun, they suffered dreadfully from a scarcity of provisions, being supported almost entirely on animal food,|| and a

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* Tacitus, Ann., B. 13, C. 41.

† This term is generally used by Tacitus and other Roman writers, when speaking of the Parthians and other nations of central and eastern Asia.

‡ Tacitus, Ann., B. 14, C. 23.

|| Probably the beasts of burden.

scarcity of water was a severe addition to their distress ; the fortitude, however, with which their general submitted even to more hardships than the common soldier, afforded them a useful example.

At last they arrived at a cultivated country, where they reaped the corn, and of the two castles to which the Armenians had fled for refuge, one was taken by storm, and the other after a siege surrendered.

From thence passing into the country of the Taurantii, Corbulo had a narrow escape from an unforeseen danger, for not far from his tent, a Barbarian of distinction was discovered with a weapon, and under the influence of torture, confessed the entire plot, acknowledged himself to be the author of it, and discovered on his associates, and they met with the punishment which their treachery merited.

Shortly after this occurrence, the ambassadors sent to Tigranocerta, returned with the intelligence that the gates were open to him, and the inhabitants ready to submit to his commands, and they brought with them as the gift of hospitality a golden crown, which Corbulo received with every mark of respect, and in order to induce them to continue submissive to him, directed that nothing in their city should be meddled with.

But the royal citadel, which a fierce band of youths had inclosed themselves in, was not taken without a struggle, they even attempted a battle outside the walls, but were beaten back into the citadel, and at length yielded to the arms of the besiegers.

These operations went on the smoother, inasmuch as the Parthians were detained by their war with the Hyrcanians, who had sent an embassy to the Roman emperor, entreating his alliance, and pointing to the detention of Vologeses, who was engaged in a war with them, as a proof of their friendship, and the ambassadors on their return were furnished by Corbulo, with an escort as far as the shores of the Red Sea, by which rout to avoid the confines of the Parthians, they returned to their own country.*

At this time, Tiridates proceeding through Media, had entered the confines of Armenia, but Corbulo sending before him his Lieutenant, Verulanus, with the auxiliaries, and rapidly following with the legionary troops, compelled him to evacuate the country, and to give up all hopes of recovering it, and pursuing with fire and sword, those who were friendly disposed to Tiridates, he had taken possession of Armenia, when Tigranes arrived, appointed by Nero, to assume the

* Tacitus, Ann., B. 14, C. 25.

government ; this prince, who was one of the nobles of Cappadocia, and grandson of king Archelaus, had been a hostage at Rome, and his spirit broken to a degree of servility ; he was not, however, universally accepted by the Armenians, for many of them favoured the Arsacidæ, but the majority who hated the pride of the Parthians, preferred a king given by the Romans.

A guard of 1,000 legionary soldiers, three auxiliary cohorts, and two wings of horse were allotted him, that he might the more easily defend his kingdom ; portions of Armenia, however, were taken from him, and bestowed on the neighbouring kings, Pharasmanes, Polemon, Aristobulus and Antiochus. Corbulo then withdrew into Syria, to which province he was appointed on the death of Ummidius, the Lieutenant.* (372 Aer. Seleuc.)

Vologeses, in the meantime, hearing of these transactions, and that his brother, Tiridates, was dethroned, and Tigranes, an alien, made king of Armenia, hesitated what course to pursue ; for whilst he was anxious to revenge himself for the contempt shewn to the claims of the Arsacidæ, he considered on the other hand the great power of the Romans, with whom he had entered into a treaty, and the defection of his subjects, the Hyrcanians, with whom he was engaged in hostilities.

In this state of indecision he was roused by new aggressions, for Tigranes had made an inroad on the territory of Adiabene, a state tributory to, and dependent on Parthia ; and its sovereign, Monobazus, had made the strongest complaints and remonstrances on the subject, whilst those of Tiridates were equally loud and urgent.† Vologeses was, as Tacitus observes, naturally wanting in decision, but urged on by these remonstrances he assembled his council, and placing Tiridates at his side, told them how, in order to prevent rivalship between his brothers and himself, he had placed each of them over an independent kingdom, giving Media to Pacorus, and Armenia to Tiridates, and how the Romans had thwarted this arrangement, and he told them, that willing as he was to be at peace, the caution he had hitherto used must give place to firmness and decision. He then bound the head of Tiridates with the royal diadem, and placed under the command of Moneses, a well disciplined body of horse to attend the king, adding to it the Adiabenian auxiliaries, and commanding him to expel Tigranes from Armenia, whilst he himself having composed his differences with the Hyrcanians, collected the strength of the kingdom, with the intention of threatening the Roman provinces.‡

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* Tacitus, Ann., B. 14, C. 26. † Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 1.
‡ Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 2.

Corbulo being informed of these proceedings, sent two legions under Verulanus Severus and Vettius Bolanus to the assistance of Tigranes, with secret directions that they should act with caution rather than with vigour, as he wished rather to keep the war on foot than to forward it. He also wrote to the Emperor Nero, that there was need of a special general for the defence of Armenia, for that Syria was in the greatest danger from an incursion of the Parthians. In the meantime he placed the remainder of the legions on the banks of the Euphrates—he armed the irregular forces of the provinces, and put a stop to the incursions of the enemy by garrisons, and as the region was deficient in water, he erected forts over the fountains, and concealed some of the rivulets by heaping sand over them.*

Whilst Syria was thus placed in a state of defence by Corbulo, Moneses by a forced march endeavoured to outstrip the report of his coming, but nevertheless found Tigranes neither uninformed, nor unprepared, for he had occupied Tigranocerta, a city strong in its garrison and its walls ; here the Nicephorius, a river of considerable breadth encompasses a part of the walls, and where the protection of the river was distrusted, a great trench was drawn round, a garrison also was placed in it, and provisions laid up in store, and a trifling loss sustained by the incautiousness of some of the foraging parties, excited the anger rather than the fear of the garrison.

The Parthian troops are naturally unfit for a siege, the arrow so powerful a weapon in the field, being little formidable to the besieged, and the attempts of the Adiabenians, with their ladders and machines, were nearly as futile, and they were easily repulsed, and afterwards put to the sword by a sortie from the besieged.†

Corbulo, although eminently successful, thought it prudent to use his good fortune with moderation, and sent to Vologeses, to expostulate with him on the injustice of offering violence to a Roman province, and of besieging a king, the ally of the Romans, and even the Roman cohorts themselves, and recommending him to raise the siege, or that he also would pitch his camp in a hostile country.* Casperius, the Roman centurion, being selected for this embassy, waited on the king at the city of Nisibis, distant 37 miles from Tigranocerta, and in a fierce tone delivered his message.

It was always the policy of Vologeses to avoid the Roman arms, and his present prospects were not very encouraging ; Tigranes was well supported, they who

* Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 3.

† Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 4.

undertook the siege, were put to flight, Roman legions were sent into Armenia, and others appointed to the defence of Syria, were prepared to invade his territory, his cavalry were enfeebled by the want of forage, and an immense flight of locusts had destroyed every herb and leaf; he therefore concealing his fears, gave as reply, that he would send ambassadors to the Roman emperor, to petition for a grant of Armenia, and a firm peace, and he not only retreated himself, but gave orders to Moneses to raise the siege of Tigranocerta.

These occurrences were by some attributed to the fears of the king, and the threats of Corbulo, whilst others interpreted it as a secret compact for the retreat of both Vologeses and. Tigranes, from Armenia. Tacitus seems to have been of opinion, that the war was suspended in order that the reputation of Corbulo, might not be hazarded by a doubtful struggle with Vologeses, but that another Roman general should be opposed to that prince, for Corbulo had requested that another commander should be appointed for the particular defence of Armenia, and accordingly Cæsennius Pætus was nominated, having under him the 4th, 5th, and 12th legions, with auxiliaries from Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, Corbulo retaining the command of the 3rd, 6th, and 10th legions, and the forces belonging to Syria.** (A.D., 62, Aer. Seleuc., 374.)

We now arrive at a period of Parthian history, which affords a remarkable instance of the value of Numismatic illustration. The events which occurred in the interval, between the accession of Vologeses, A.D., 51, and that of Pacorus, A.D., 77, are fully and we have reason to suppose faithfully recorded by Tacitus and Josephus, and these events are made to occupy one reign, that of Vologeses I., who is thus supposed to have possessed the throne for 26 years, but the coins of that period distinctly prove that this interval was filled by two reigns, that of Vologeses commencing in 363, Aer. Seleuc., and that of another prince in 374, or possibly one or two years earlier; the matter will be better understood when we come to the Numismatic portion of this work, and it may be sufficient to observe in this place, that the evidence by which M. Longperier arrived at the conclusion in question, is in the first place, that the coins bearing the date 374, and subsequent numbers present a younger and a different portrait from that on the coins from 364 to 369, and in the second, that the conclusion suggested by this fact is sup-

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* Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 6.

ported by the testimony of two historians,* that a prince named Artabanus actually reigned between Vologeses and Pacorus. The point of separation, however, between these two reigns cannot be satisfactorily ascertained, the last date on the coins of Vologeses being 369, whilst the first of his successor is 374; it is indeed probable, both from the partiality of monarchs for striking coins in the first year of their reign, and from the Parthian king having in 374, sent ambassadors to Rome, that, that was the first year of the new king's reign, but we must wait for the discovery of coins bearing other dates to decide the question; but although I shall in recording the events of this period, adopt the arrangement suggested by the coins, and the dates which they present, and now recognised by Longperier, Visconti, and Bartholemæi, all writers of the first class, I cannot avoid acknowledging that the satisfaction arising from this arrangement is considerably qualified by the fact, that Tacitus, Josephus, Dion Cassius, and Suetonius, all speak of but one Parthian king, and that Vologeses, as occupying the space which guided by the coins themselves, and the distinguished authorities I have noticed, I have thus assigned to two.

I think it right also to remark, that it is possible, that Vologeses, and his supposed successor Artabanus, may have been from 374 to 389, (Aer. Seleuc.), contemporary princes, reigning in different parts of the Parthian empire, as we know Bardanes and Goterzes, for a short time actually were, and thus the accounts of the Roman writers relative to Vologeses, (who may have occupied that portion of the empire nearest to the Roman frontier), may be perfectly consistent with the notices of Artabanus by other writers, and with the insurmountable evidence of the dates appearing on coins of the latter.

ARSACES XXIV.—ARTABANUS IV., 62—77, A.D.

The ambassadors despatched to Rome by the Parthian king, returned without having accomplished the object of their mission, and the Parthians now openly prepared for war, nor did Pætus decline it, for he entered Armenia with two legions, the 4th commanded by Funisulanus Vettonianus, and the 12th by Calvisius Sabinus, and the superstition of the Romans is again exhibited by Tacitus, who notices the several unfavourable omens which occurred on their passing the

* Zonaras and Firdousi.

Euphrates, viz., that the horse which carried the consular ornaments took fright, and retreating backwards made his escape, that a victim escaped from the half finished rampart of the camp, and that the javelins of the soldiers took fire,* an omen which was considered as the more remarkable, inasmuch, as the Parthians chiefly used missile weapons.

Pætus, however, despising these omens, although his winter camp was not yet sufficiently fortified, rapidly passed his army over Mount Taurus, for the purpose, as he said of recovering Tigranocerta, and laying waste the regions which Corbulo had left untouched, and he not only succeeded in taking several castles, but acquired some glory, and not a little plunder, and if he could only have enjoyed his glory with moderation, or husbanded his plunder with care, his exertions would have been crowned with success, instead of which he overran by long marches, countries which he could not hold, and lost by neglect, the provisions he had captured, and the winter now setting in, he led back his army, and wrote to Nero, as if the war was finished, a letter magnificent in language, but void of substance.†

In the meantime, Corbulo occupied on the banks of the Euphrates, a position which so far from neglecting, he had strengthened with additional stations, and lest the light troops of the enemy, who with great display hovered about the low grounds, should offer any impediment to his throwing over a bridge, he placed across the river vessels of great size connected by beams, and strengthened by towers placed on them, and by catapults and balistæ repulsed the barbarians, whose arrows were not able to reach as far as the stones and javelins projected by the Romans. The bridge was then completed and the hills occupied by the auxiliary cohorts, and afterwards by the camp of the legions with such celerity and display of strength, that the Parthians laying aside their intention of invading Syria, directed all their efforts against Armenia.‡

In that country, Pætus was so ignorant of what was impending, that he had the 5th legion stationed at a distance in Pontus, and had weakened the forces he had with him by extensive furloughs, and he was now astonished at hearing of the approach of the Parthian king, with a large and formidable army. The first step of Pætus was to call up the 12th legion, and he could still have maintained his station by protracting the war, if he had displayed any firmness himself, or yielded

* The appearance of flame on the points of weapons, a phenomenon so well known to proceed from electricity has often terrified soldiers, much less superstitious than the Romans.

† Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 8.

‡ Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 9.

to the advice of others, but when advised by military men of experience, he pursued the opposite course, that he might not appear to yield to the opinion of others, and leaving his winter fortifications, and crying out that arms and men were the weapons of war entrusted to him, and not ditches or ramparts, he led forth the legions, as if to engage in battle with the enemy, but after the loss of a centurion and a few men, whom he had sent forward to reconnoitre, he retreated in confusion,* and again because the Parthians had not pressed forward more vigorously, inspired by a vain confidence, he placed 3,000 men on the nearest summit of Mount Taurus, to prevent the passage of the king, and placed on a part of the plain the Pannonian auxiliaries, the strength of his cavalry. His wife and son he concealed in a castle named Arsamosata, giving them a cohort as a guard, and dispersing his soldiers, who if kept together, might have checked the movements of the enemy's light troops. It was reported that he was reluctant to confess to Corbulo the difficulty he was in, nor was the latter in any great hurry to support him, supposing that by augmenting the dangers he was in, his own merit in supporting him would be greater, he ordered however, 1,000 men to be got ready from each of the three legions, together with 800 auxiliary horse, and the same number from the cohorts.

The Parthian king although aware that his rout was occupied by Pætus, on one side by his infantry, on the other by his cavalry, pushed forward without changing his plan, one centurion alone, Tarquitius Cresceus daring to defend a tower which he occupied, until he was overpowered by the combustibles which were discharged from every side, and such of the Roman infantry as were unhurt, betook themselves to the remote and wild places, whilst those who were wounded endeavoured to reach the camp, speaking in exaggerated terms of the valour of the Parthian king, and the cruelty and numbers of his troops in which they found a ready credence in the fears of their hearers. Pætus himself, instead of struggling with adverse circumstances neglected every duty, but applied in a suppliant manner to Corbulo, begging of him to come and defend the standards and eagles of his unfortunate army, and promising to hold out whilst life remained.†

Corbulo undeterred by the success of the Parthians, leaving a portion of his army in Syria, to defend the fortified posts established on the Euphrates, took the route which was shortest and best supplied with provisions, proceeding by Commagene, Cappadocia and Armenia, an immense number of camels laden with corn

* Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 10.

† Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 11.

accompanied the army. The first of the fugitives he met was Pactius, a centurion of the first company,* and afterwards several common soldiers who assigned different excuses for their conduct; these Corbulo recommended to return to their standards and try the clemency of Pætus, that for himself he had no mercy for those who were not victors; he also addressed his own legions, reminded them of the glory of their former actions, pointed their attention to the acquisition of fresh honors, told them that the objects now to be acquired were not the cities of the Armenians, but a Roman camp and two legions, and that if the honor of a civic crown from the hands of the Emperor for preserving the life of a Roman citizen, was considered a high prize to an individual soldier, how much greater must be the honor where the relief was on so grand a scale, and the number of the preserved equal to that of the preservers. These arguments and the consideration that several of their friends and relations were in the army they were going to the relief of, prevailed and they pressed on with alacrity, marching both day and night.†

The Parthian king in the mean time aware that he had no time to lose, urged on the siege with vigour, at one time assaulting the entrenchments of the legions, at another the castle in which the women and children had been placed, and advancing much nearer than was in general the custom of the Parthians, in hopes to draw out the Romans to an engagement, but the latter could scarcely be drawn from their tents, and then merely to defend their intrenchments, some in obedience to the orders of their general, others through cowardice, or a desire to wait for the arrival of Corbulo, and furnished with examples in the disasters at Caudium‡ and Numantia,§ at which places they said neither the Samnites nor the Spaniards possessed a force so formidable as that of the Parthians, whilst their own ancestors so much lauded and extolled, did not neglect precautions for their own safety. Such indeed was the despair which seemed to have taken possession of the Roman army, that Pætus wrote letters to the Parthian king, the first by no means a suppliant one, but complaining that he was obliged to enter on a war for the recovery of Armenia, a country subject to the Romans, or a king chosen by the

* The Centurion of the first company in each cohort was called Primipilus, and ranked above the other five.

† Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 12.

‡ A town of the Samnites, near which the Roman army under T. Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Posthumius were defeated, and made to pass under the yoke.

§ A town of Spain, which for 14 years bravely held out against the Romans, but was at last reduced by Scipio Africanus.

Roman emperor, that a peace on equal terms was desirable, that they should not look merely to the present position of affairs, where a Parthian king contended against two legions, but consider that powerful as the king was, the rest of the world belonged to the Romans to support them in the war.*

To this the Parthian without entering into the matter replied, that he must wait for his brothers Pacorus and Tiridates, on whose arrival they would decide on the course to be pursued with respect to Armenia, and that the Gods had added another subject worthy of the Arsacidæ, namely that they should decide what was to be done with the Roman legions.

Messengers were then sent by Pætus, and a conference demanded with the king, who ordered Vasaces the general of his cavalry to proceed on that mission. There Pætus pointed to what Lucullus, Pompey and other Roman generals had done in obtaining and disposing of Armenia, whilst Vasaces asserted that although the Romans enjoyed an imaginary right to retain or dispose of Armenia, the actual power of doing so lay in the Parthian king. On the following day Monobazus, the Adiabenian was brought in as a witness to the things which were agreed on, and it was stipulated that the legions should be released from the siege, that all the Roman troops should evacuate Armenia, and that the fortress and stores should be given up to the Parthians, after the accomplishment of which matters, the Parthian king should have permission to send ambassadors to Nero.†

In the meantime, Pætus threw a bridge over the Arsanias which flowed along side of his camp, under the appearance of marching away in that direction, but it was done at the dictation of the Parthians, as a proof that the victory was theirs, for it was of no use to the Romans, who went by a different way. Rumour added that the legions were sent under the yoke, and other stories of an unfortunate character, which received some countenance from the circumstance of the Armenian troops having entered the fortifications before the Romans had departed, the former also beset the highways, recognizing the slaves and cattle which they had lost and carrying them off, the Romans were also plundered of their clothes and arms, the soldiers timidly giving them up lest any cause for dispute should arise.

The Parthian king collected in a heap the bodies and arms of the slain, as a monument of his triumph over the Romans, but with an affectation of moderation, abstained from exhibiting himself to the fugitive legions. He crossed the Arsanias on

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* Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 13.

† Tacitus. Ann., B. 15, C. 14.

an elephant, those who were about him making their way by the force of their horses, for it was rumoured that the bridge was designedly rendered unsafe, but those who tried it, found it strong and perfectly sound.*

It was well known that the besieged were well supplied with corn, and Corbulo asserted that the Parthians were in want of provisions and about to abandon the siege, whilst he himself was only distant a journey of three days, he also added that Pætus had sworn at the standards, in the presence of the ambassadors of the Parthian king, that no Roman should enter Armenia until letters had arrived from Nero, as to whether he consented to the treaty.

Whether such charges were adduced to aggravate the infamy of Pætus's conduct, there were others which could admit of no doubt, in one day Pætus had retreated 40 miles, abandoning his wounded as he went, and the trepidation of the fugitives was not less than if they had turned their backs in battle.

Corbulo with his army met them on the banks of the Euphrates, but without that display which would contrast so pointedly with the miserable condition of the beaten army, his companies were overpowered with grief, and in pity for their comrades could not abstain from tears, and overcome by their feelings, could scarcely return the salutations of their fellow soldiers; the contest of valour and the ambition of glory as Tacitus observes,† had departed, pity alone remained, the greater the more forlorn the condition of its objects.

A short conference between the chiefs now took place, Corbulo complaining that all their labour was in vain, and that the war might have been finished by the flight of the Parthians, and Pætus replying, that they might turn the eagles about and joining their forces invade Armenia, now weakened by the departure of the Parthians, but Corbulo answered that these were not the orders of the Emperor, that moved by the imminent danger in which Roman legions were placed, he had gone forth from his own province, but as it was uncertain to what place the Parthians should direct their next efforts, he would return to Syria, and that even so he might consider it most fortunate if his infantry harrassed by forced marches, were able to anticipate the Parthian cavalry, to whose movements the extensive plains offered so great a facility.

Pætus then took up his winter quarters in Cappadocia. In the meantime messengers from the Parthian king arrived to Corbulo, with a demand that he should

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* Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 15.

† Tacitus, Ann,, B. 15, C. 16.

withdraw the Roman posts established beyond the Euphrates, and make the river as formerly the bounds between the two nations; Corbulo in return insisted that the Parthian garrisons should be withdrawn from Armenia, to which the king at last assented, and the Armenians were left to regulate their own affairs.*

At Rome these transactions in Armenia seem to have been viewed through a very distorted medium, for the Romans erected trophies and triumphal arches for successes over the Parthians. In the beginning of spring, (Aer. Sel., 375,) ambassadors arrived with letters from the Parthian king, stating that he now laid aside the so often agitated question concerning the possession of Armenia, since the Gods had given it to the Parthians, not without disgrace to the Romans, that Tigranes had been besieged by him and afterwards Pætus, and that when he could have overwhelmed the legions he had dismissed them in safety, that he had thus given proof both of his power and of his clemency, that Tiridates would not refuse to go to Rome to receive the diadem, but was withheld by the priestly office which he held, but that he would go before the standards and images of the emperor, and there in the presence of the legions, receive the investiture of the kingdom.†

These letters being read, so different from the accounts of Pætus, who had written that things remained in the same state, the centurion who accompanied the ambassadors, was asked in what state Armenia was, and his reply being that all the Romans had left it, the mockery of the Parthians in asking for a country of which they had already possessed themselves was then discovered, and Nero deliberated with his nobles, whether they preferred a war of doubtful success or a dishonorable peace; the former was unhesitatingly resolved on, and Corbulo whose experience extended over so many years, was appointed to the command, lest by the incompetency of any other, a failure should result; as to Pætus he was altogether distrusted.

The ambassadors were then sent back without accomplishing the object of their mission, but yet with presents, in order that hopes might be left to Tiridates, that if he came in person, his supplications would not be in vain. Cincius obtained the administration of Syria; the military forces were placed under Corbulo, and the 15th legion under Marius Celsus, from Pannonia was added to them, and orders were transmitted to the tetrarchs, kings, præfects and procurators, and to the proprætors who governed the neighbouring provinces, to obey the orders of Corbulo,

* Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 17.

† Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 24.

whose power was nearly placed on a level with that of Pompey in the Piratic war. Pætus on his return was greatly in fear, but Nero was satisfied with the punishment of a jest, saying that he pardoned him at once, lest one so prone to fear would get sick if kept any longer in suspense.*

Corbulo having removed into Syria the 4th and 12th legions, whose bravest men had perished and the rest were dispirited, and but little fit for service, now led from that province into Armenia, the 3rd and 6th legions whose ranks were entire, and whose soldiers were accustomed to active and useful labour, and added the 5th legion which had been stationed in Pontus, and had not suffered in the war, and the 15th which had recently arrived from Pannonia with some chosen companies from Illyricum and Egypt, the auxiliary troops both horse and foot, and those of the kings allies to the Romans, and assembled this large force at Melitene, where he purposed crossing the Euphrates. Here having purified the army by lustration, he called a council, where in an authoritative manner, which as Tacitus observes, in a soldier supplies the place of eloquence, he enlarged on the auspices of the emperor, his own exploits and the incapacity of Pætus.†

He then took the route formerly taken by Lucullus, and when waited on by ambassadors from the Parthian and Armenian kings, who came to treat for peace, he did not despise them, but appointed centurions to confer with them on terms by no means severe, saying that matters had not yet arrived at that point that would make extreme measures necessary, that the good fortune which had so often attended the Roman arms, and sometimes the Parthian, were lessons against the pride of both parties; that as it was for the interest of Tiridates to receive a kingdom untouched by devastation, so it was that of the Parthians to cultivate an alliance with the Romans, rather than engage in a contest injurious to both parties; that he knew what discordant and fierce nations the Parthian king had to govern, whilst the emperor's dominions enjoyed profound peace and this was the only war they had to carry on.

Having given this advice to them, he proceeded to support it by the terror of the sword, and drove from their seats the nobles of Armenia, who first revolted from the Romans, destroyed their castles and filled all with the terror of his name.‡

The name of Corbulo was notwithstanding much respected by the barbarians, and the utmost confidence attached to his advice, the Parthian king therefore was

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* Tacitus, Aun., B. 15, C. 25. † Tacitus, B. 15, C. 26.

‡ Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 27.

not influenced by animosity, but solicited a truce for some of the provinces. Tiridates demanded that a day and place should be fixed for a conference. The day appointed was a near one, and the place chosen by the Parthians, (that in which Pætus was besieged), was not objected to by Corbulo, as from the contrast it exhibited, it seemed to place his own glory in a stronger light; nor was Pætus's disgrace aggravated, as appeared by Corbulo having appointed the son of Pætus, a tribune, with some companies to cover and obliterate all the remains of the unfortunate contest. On the day appointed, Tiberius Alexander, an illustrious Roman knight, appointed as an assistant to Corbulo and Vinianus Annius, the son in-law of Corbulo, a young man not yet of senatorial age, but holding the temporary command of the 5th legion, came into the camp of Tiridates, a mark of respect to that prince, and affording a proof that with such hostages he might fear nothing; each party then took with him 20 horsemen, and Tiridates on seeing Corbulo, leaped from his horse, and the compliment was instantly returned by Corbulo, and they both joined right hands.*

The Roman general then praised the young prince for his prudence and moderation; the latter although largely extolling the illustriousness of his own descent, in other respects spoke with moderation, and said that he would confer a new honour on the emperor, in exhibiting to him a prince of the Arsacidæ, a suppliant without any reverse of fortune. It was then agreed that Tiridates should lay the diadem at the foot of Cæsars image, and not resume it except from the hand of Nero himself; the conference then terminated with an embrace.

A few days after, the armies were drawn out with great pomp, the cavalry of Tiridates arranged in troops under the ensigns of their respective nations, the legions with their glittering eagles and their standards, and the images of their gods placed as in a temple; a tribunal in the middle supported a Curule seat on which was placed a statue of Nero, and Tiridates advancing after having slain a number of victims in the usual manner, took off his diadem and laid it at the feet of the image, a ceremony which from a recollection of the past and a prospect of the future, was viewed with intense interest by both armies.†

The conduct of Corbulo was most affable, and a splendid entertainment was given by him on the occasion, during which the king made frequent enquiries whenever he observed any custom new to him, as that the setting of the watch was communicated to the general by a centurion, that a banquet was broke up by the sound of a

* Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 28.

† Tacitus, B. 15, C. 29.

trumpet, and that the altar before the Augural was kindled by a torch; and Tiridates expressed his admiration of the Roman institutions. On the following day, Tiridates entreated for a little time before he set out to visit his mother and his brothers, and delivered up his daughter as a hostage, writing also a suppliant letter to Nero.*

In his way to Rome, he found Pacorus in Media, and the Parthian king at Ecbatana, by no means regardless of what he considered his brother's interests, for he had by special ambassadors requested of Corbulo, that Tiridates should not present the appearance of slavery, or deliver up his sword, or be prevented from embracing the governors of Provinces, or stand at the gates, but receive the same honors at Rome which were paid to the consuls, in which matter as Tacitus observes, the Parthian monarch exhibited the pride of an Eastern prince, unacquainted with the manners of the Romans, who valued power much and ceremony but little.†

The negociation thus effected by Corbulo, was so gratifying to Nero, that he caused a medal to be struck with the reverse of Victory marching, and the word ARMENIAC. Such was however the ingratitude of that base emperor, that he soon after recalled Corbulo, and caused him to be barbarously put to death at Cenchreæ A. D. 66; according to some, Corbulo anticipated the orders of Nero, by falling on his sword, exclaiming I have well deserved this!

Tiridates took two years in making preparations for his journey to Rome, and the magnificence with which he made his appearance, and the pomp attending his reception by Nero, are recited by Xiphilin, in his abridgement of Dion Cassius.

He was accompanied by his own children, those of the kings of Parthia and Media, and those of Monobazus, king of Adiabene, and his progress to the Euphrates, was attended with all the magnificence of a triumph, to which the dignity of his stature and person added materially; he was followed by a guard of 3000 Parthian horse, and a considerable number of Romans swelled his train; his reception by the cities through which he passed, was suitable to the magnificence of this cavalcade, and he was furnished for nine months with every thing he might require, of which liberality he seems fully to have availed himself, for his expenses amounted to 200,000 drachms, (upwards of £6,600) each day until his arrival in Italy. His mode of travelling was on horseback; his queen also accompanied him on horseback, and it being the custom of the Parthian females to conceal their faces, she wore a golden helmet for that purpose; but on their arrival in Italy, they availed themselves of the chariots sent by Nero for their more luxurious accommodation.

* Tacitus, Ann., B. 15, C. 30.

† Tacitus, Ann., B, 15, C. 31.

The reception of Tiridates by Nero was magnificent, and only alloyed by an attempt on his approaching the emperor to take away his sword, which he refused to part with; a compromise was however effected between the dignity of the guest and the cowardly suspicions of his host, by fastening the sword of the former to its scabbard, and the servile reverence which Asiatics of every rank are accustomed to pay to their superior was so palatable to Nero, that he entertained his guest with shows and diversions of unusual display.

Under the superintendance of Patrobius, the freedman of Nero, a combat of gladiators on a most extensive scale was exhibited at Puteoli. On this occasion, the skill of Tiridates who shot at the wild beasts from his throne was exhibited, and with one arrow from his bow, he is said to have killed two bulls.

They then proceeded to Rome, where Nero in the midst of a display of pomp and magnificence, astonishing even to an Asiatic, placed the royal diadem on the head of Tiridates, and at the theatre placed him on his right hand.*

Feasts and shows succeeded, but the low habits of Nero excited a contempt for him in the mind of Tiridates, who was particularly shocked at seeing him in a green habit and cap driving a chariot like a common servant, and the contrast between such deportment and that of Corbulo, could not fail to strike him forcibly. To his praises of Corbulo, however Nero turned a deaf ear, and Tiridates who seems to have been most anxious to gain the favor of Nero, did not press the subject.

On the departure of Tiridates, Nero who had allotted him during his stay the daily and enormous allowance of 800 Sestertia, (about £6,500), now presented him in addition with more than 100,000 Sestertia, (more than £800,000),† and also gave him permission to rebuild the city of Artaxata, and to take with him a number of workmen from Rome, and we learn from Dion that when rebuilt, Tiridates called the city Neronia.

Nero whose vanity was flattered by the submission of an Asiatic prince of distinction, and one of the great family of the Arsacidæ, seems to have endeavoured to induce the Parthian king himself to pay him a similar visit, but that proud monarch who probably considered himself at least the equal of Nero, answered

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* Suetonius in Nerone, C. XIII. The inside of the Theatre of Pompey was covered with gold, as were also the dresses of those assembled there, from which that day was called the Golden day; the veil also which was extended to keep off the sun was of purple, ornamented with stars, and a representation of Nero driving a chariot.

† Suetonius in Nerone, C. 30.

that it would be much easier for the latter to make a sea voyage, but that if he should think proper to come into Asia, they could agree on a place of meeting, which incensed Nero very much, but put an end to the matter. The death of Nero occurred soon after, (A.D. 68,) and the opinion which he entertained of the Parthian king, seems to have been so great, that he had in his distress an intention of flying for refuge to the court of that monarch.

After the death of Nero, the civil wars by which the Roman empire was distracted, encouraged the Parthians to make inroads on the Syrian provinces, but they were repelled by Licinius Mucianus, the President of Syria, at the head of four legions, indeed such was the value of that Province to the Roman empire, and so formidable were the Parthians considered, that seven legions, altogether amounting probably to from 40 to 50,000 men, were stationed there.

In the struggle for empire between Vespasian and Vitellius, the former being acknowledged as emperor by the legions in Syria, sent ambassadors to the Parthian and Armenian kings, requesting that they would preserve the peace between their countries and the Romans, and the Parthian who seems to have been a cautious prince and one who was willing to be on terms of amity with the Romans, not only acceded to the request of the emperor, but sent an ambassy to Rome, offering him as auxiliaries 40,000 Archers,* an offer which however was declined by Vespasian.

After the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, that prince having arrived at Zeugma, was waited on by ambassadors from the Parthian king, who presented him with a golden crown in honor of his conquest of Jerusalem, after which ceremony they were sumptuously entertained by Titus.†

Certain occurrences in Syria and Commagene must now be noticed, as the Romans and Parthians were both concerned in them.

Cæsennius Pætus, who was now governor in the place of Mucianus, either entertaining suspicions, (whether well or ill-founded, seems to be uncertain), or what is perhaps more probable, having himself invented the charge, that Antiochus, king of Commagene, and his son Epiphanes, had entered into a secret treaty with the Parthian king, sent intelligence of these charges to the Roman emperor, recommending him to anticipate the designs of these princes by striking the first blow.‡

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* Suetonius in Vesp., C. 6. These archers were all cavalry.

† Josephus War. B. VII., C. 5, S. 2. ‡ Josephus, War. B. VII., C. 7, S. 1.

Vespasian was well aware of the importance of this communication, knowing that Samosata was the key of Syria on the Parthian side, and that its getting into the power of the Parthian monarchs, was a circumstance much to be dreaded, but satisfied of the discretion of Cæsennius, he left the entire management of the matter to him, and the latter lost no time in invading Commagene, taking with him the 10th legion and some other Roman detachments of horse and foot, and a body of auxiliaries under Aristobulus, king of Chalcidene, and Sohemus, king of Emesa.

That the charges against Antiochus and his son were unfounded appears exceedingly probable, from the circumstance that they were totally unprepared for this invasion, which seems to have taken them altogether by surprise, and Antiochus in order to show that he had no wish to quarrel or break faith with the Romans, left his capital to their mercy, and removed with his wife and children to an open place about 120 furlongs distant, whilst Cæsennius took possession of Samosata, and not content with this acquisition, proceeded in pursuit of Antiochus.

The sons of the latter, however, Epiphanes and Callinicus, roused by a persecution which has every appearance of being unmerited, assembled what forces they could collect and gave battle to the Romans, and in a hard fought encounter which continued all day, they not only maintained their ground, but came off with but little loss.

Antiochus, however, persisting in his intention of giving up his kingdom to the Romans, continued his retreat, and his sons and their followers in despair retired from the contest, and the young princes having crossed the Euphrates with only 10 horsemen, threw themselves on the hospitality of the Parthian king, who generously treated them in a manner becoming their rank and station.

Antiochus in the meantime had fled to Tarsus in Cilicia, but the malignity of Cæsennius still pursued him, and he was seized and sent in chains to Rome, but Vespasian on learning it, ordered his chains to be removed, and directing that he should be treated as became a royal personage, allowed him to remain at Lacedæmon.

The sons of Antiochus encouraged by the generous treatment experienced by their father, soon after repaired to Rome, where they also were treated not only with kindness but munificence, and the magnanimity of Vespasian, is still further apparent from an anecdote recorded by Dion Cassius, who mentions that when the Parthian king, wishing to mediate for the young princes, wrote to Vespasian in the pompous style of eastern pride, "Arsaces the king of kings, to Flavius Vespasianus," the latter with some humour addressed his reply, "Flavius Vespasianus to Arsaces the king of kings."

Towards the end of Artabanus's reign, a great inroad of Scythians assisted by the king of Hyrcania appears to have taken place, and the formidable nature of it may be judged from the circumstance, that Pacorûs the Median king, fled from his kingdom and was forced to redeem his wife and concubines for 100 talents, (something less than £20,000.) They next attacked Armenia, whose king Tiridates, assembled an army, and gave them battle, but was defeated, Tiridates himself escaping most narrowly, for the Scythians had thrown a kind of net over his head, from which he only escaped by cutting the rope with his sword.*

These barbarians elated with the success of their incursions, now attacked the more immediate provinces of Parthia, and Artabanus struck with alarm at their uninterupted success, applied to Vespasian for succour, requesting him to place one of his sons at the head of the forces he might send, and although Domitian† was most anxious for such an appointment, his father, declined interfering in a matter with which as he observed he had no concern, but Suetonius says, his appointment was prevented by the matter being settled between Artabanus and the Alani.

Whether the Scythians were driven out or retreated as some authors‡ say, laden with booty, is a matter not very certain, it appears however, that the Parthian monarch was displeased at the conduct of the Roman emperor, in not coming to his assistance and invaded Syria, the nearest and most vulnerable of the Roman provinces, but it is said without success, and that he was forced to make peace with the Romans. These events Vaillant assigns to 73 and 74 A. D., and I think correctly, and it appears from the dates of this king and of his successor, that he reigned at least two years longer, and died either in 76 or 77 A. D., but the events of the latter part of his reign are but little noticed by historians.

The building of the city of Vologesocerta has been assigned to this period by those writers who make the reign of Vologeses to occupy the whole of that period, which has been more recently and I think more correctly filled by the two reigns of Vologeses and Artabanus IV., but if the latter arrangement is correct, the building of this city must have been in the reign of Vologeses.

It may be considered somewhat presumptuous to form an estimate of the character of a prince, whose very existence is a matter of question, but in addition to the probability that two reigns are to be reckoned from 51 to 77 A. D., an attention to the conduct of the individual who filled the Parthian throne during these

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* Josephus, War. B. 7, C. 7, S. 4. † Suetonius in Domit. C. 2.

‡ Josephus, War. B. 7, C. 7, S. 4.

twenty-six years, will induce a conclusion that the character of Artabanus was marked by traits differing considerably from those exhibited by that of Vologeses. To say that both were proud and passionately fond of pomp and magnificence, would be to impute to them qualities common to most or perhaps nearly all of the Parthian monarchs, they were also both remarkable for prudence and caution, but in other points a strong difference of character may be observed; Vologeses seems to have been remarkable for indecision and a considerable degree of timidity, whilst the conduct of Artabanus was bold, straightforward and courageous, and distinguished for promptness and intrepidity. The records of Parthia from 51 to 62, A.D., exhibit many proofs of dissimulation, injustice and meanness in the ruling sovereign, particularly in his conduct to Izates, whilst the absence of such charges against the prince who ruled from 62 to 77, A.D., would lead us to suppose that his conduct was free from such vices, particularly when we consider the manly traits which so remarkably distinguished his character; in a word, Artabanus seems to have been much superior to his predecessor, and the Parthian annals exhibit but few reigns which demand in a stronger degree the eulogy of the historian.

ARSACES XXV.—PACORUS—77—108, A.D.

This prince has been always considered as the son of Vologeses, a supposition probably arising from that of his being the successor of that monarch; the intervention of another reign which we have been just considering, may however induce us to doubt the correctness of such an arrangement; the portrait exhibited by the first coins of Pacorus, is that of a very young man, whilst the interval between the death of Vologeses and that of Artabanus seems to be at least fifteen years, and may possibly extend to twenty, a period which in such a climate as Parthia, the human form and aspect is completely developed; it is rather more probable therefore, that Pacorus was the son of Artabanus or the grandson of Vologeses, than the son of the last named monarch.

The period of his accession can be defined with a much greater degree of certainty. In Mr. Tobin's cabinet is a fine tetradrachm of this prince, bearing the date 389, and the month Dæsius (June), whilst in my own collection is one of his predecessor, with the date 388, from which we may conclude that the accession of Pacorus took place either in the latter part of 388, or in some part of

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389,* and these dates are of peculiar value, where the records of history are as in the present instance so extremely defective.

The events of this reign are indeed almost unrecorded by historians, and present a blank, even the termination of which we have no means of defining, the last date of this reign being 404,† whilst the first of the succeeding one does not occur until 421. Mr. De Bartholomæi has however directed our attention to certain incidental notices in Dion and Pliny, from which we may conclude that the latter part of Pacorus's reign was contemporary with that of Trajan, whose reign commenced in 98, A.D., (410 Aer. Seleuc.), and he is of opinion that about 10 years later may be considered as the termination of Pacorus's reign, and I am rather inclined to agree with him, at all events it could not have extended beyond the next year, as we have coins of his successor Chosroes, with date 421.

The long reign of this prince was probably as Lewis has justly observed, peaceable and prosperous, the Roman writers being nearly silent as to the events of it, the only ones recorded being the enlargement and fortification of the great city of Ctesiphon, and the cession for a large sum of money of the country of Osrhoene, or Edessa to Abgarus, who was the founder of a dynasty afterwards tributary to the Romans, and of which Abgarus and Mannus seem to have been the prevailing names. Although, however Pacorus enjoyed an uninterrupted peace with the Romans, it is probable that he was occasionally engaged in war with his eastern neighbours, for Mr. De Bartholomæi‡ notices a remarkable bilingual coin of this king, bearing his bust with Greek inscription on one side, and on the other the figure of Victory, with Pacorus's title in Arianian.

ARSACES XXVI.—CHOSROES—108—121, A.D.

On the death of Pacorus the Parthians elected for their king his brother Chosroes, setting aside Parthamasiris, the eldest son of the late king, not perhaps for the usual reason of his being of immature age, but more probably because the state of Parthia then required an able and vigorous ruler, Chosroes however

* M. Longperier and Mr. De Bartholomæi, whose researches have so greatly illustrated the coinage and annals of Parthia, were not aware of any date on Artabanus's coins later than 379, but one with 380, was sold at Mr. Stewart's sale in 1838, another with date 385, is in the British Museum, whilst the extent of his reign is almost completely defined by that in my cabinet, with date 388.

† M. Longperier and Mr. De Bartholomæi were only aware of 394, but one in brass in Mr. Payne Knight's catalogue, now in the British Museum, bears date 404.

‡ P.. 69.

evidently appeared in some degree of dread of the influence of his nephew, for he immediately announced his intention of appointing him to the kingdom of Armenia, then in the possession of Exedares, the son of Tiridates the late king, and as such, universally acknowledged by the Armenians.

The Roman emperors had for a considerable time regarded themselves as the disposers of the Armenian crown, and entitled to a kind of feudal acknowledgement of supremacy by the rulers of that country, and on this occasion, although the ceremony of applying to Rome was neglected by Exedares, yet as that prince was the son of Tiridates, who was regularly appointed by the Romans, Trajan seemed willing to acquiesce in his succession, but now finding that the Parthian king had again laid claim to the supremacy, and appointed his nephew Parthamasiris to the kingdom, he determined on asserting the dignity and pretensions of the Roman empire, and prepared to invade Armenia.

Chosroes however being nearer the scene of action, soon succeeded in expelling Exedares from Armenia, and Minissares from Armenia Minor, and caused Parthamasiris to be crowned king of both countries. Trajan in the meantime had advanced on his expedition as far as Athens, where he was met by ambassadors from Chosroes, bearing valuable presents and soliciting for peace and a recognition of Parthamasiris' appointment to the kingdom of Armenia. Trajan however refused both the presents and the request, only returning for answer that when he arrived in Syria, he would do whatever he thought proper in the matter, and continued his journey, proceeding through Asia Minor and Cilicia to Seleucia, and from thence to Antioch.

Here he was waited on by messengers from Abgarus, king of the Osrhoeni, with presents and proposals of friendship, but the king himself thought it prudent not to make his appearance, as he was equally afraid of the Romans and the Parthians, and wished to conciliate both parties. Trajan also in his progress towards Armenia, was met by several other princes and ambassadors bringing valuable presents.* The city of Samosata in Commagene, also submitted to him, as well as the king of Lesser Armenia.

On his arrival at Elegia in Armenia, Parthamasiris perceiving the necessity of conciliating him, waited on him, and Trajan received him in state at his camp and surrounded by his generals.

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* Amongst others, was a horse taught to pay adoration by kneeling down and bowing his head.

At this conference, Parthamasiris after saluting, took the crown from his head and laid it at the feet of Trajan, and then stood expecting that the emperor would again place it on his head, the soldiers then raised a shout saluting Trajan by the name of emperor, on which Parthamasiris alarmed and offended, endeavoured to retire, but being prevented, he solicited a private interview with the emperor, which being granted, he told him that he was neither conquered nor a captive, and came expecting that he should receive his kingdom from Trajan as Tiridates did from Nero, but Trajan replied that Armenia should not be given to him or to any one else, but that it belonged to the Romans, and should receive a Roman governor, and he then dismissed him, giving him permission to go where he pleased.

Trajan having placed garrisons in the Armenian towns, now proceeded to Edessa the capital of Osrhoene, where he received the submission of the king of that country.

On his arrival in Mesopotamia, a decree of the Roman Senate reached him, conferring on him the proud and not undeserved title of OPTIMVS . PRINCIPVM. The cities of Nisibis and Ecbatana, two of the greatest of the Parthian empire also submitted to him, and on the approach of winter, he returned to Antioch.

Early the next spring, 114, A.D., Trajan again put his army in motion and directed his march towards Parthia, and to enable him to cross the Tigris with greater facility, he caused a great number of boats to be constructed in the forests near Nisibis, from which they were conveyed on carriages to the river, and whilst the bridge was being constructed, he diverted the attention of the barbarians by feigned attacks on various parts of the river.

Having passed the river he made himself master of Adiabene, with the towns of Gaugamela and Arbela, and advanced towards Babylon. Here he at first purposed to have made a canal from the Euphrates into the Tigris, by which he might pass his boats into the latter and have made a bridge, but understanding that the Euphrates was higher than the Tigris, he changed his intention and mounting his boats on carriages, he conveyed them to the Tigris, where he passed over his army and possessed himself of Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire, on which he was again saluted as Emperor and received the title of *Parthicus*, and the celebrated Golden throne of the Arsacidæ was transported to Rome, where the ceremony of a triumph was decreed to Trajan by the senate.

Chosroes was now deprived of his dominions and compelled to fly, and Trajan appointed in his stead, Parthamaspates, the son as he is generally called of Exedares the king of Armenia,*

Trajan intent on further acquisitions now advanced into India, but his conquests as Mr. De Bartholomæi justly observes, were too rapid and not well consolidated, for many of the principal towns which had submitted to him revolted, and he was forced to despatch two of his generals Lucius and Maximus against them with large portions of his forces.

These detachments were at first very unsuccessful, that under Maximus being totally routed by the Parthians and their leader slain, whilst that under Lucius was also unsuccessful, but being strongly reinforced the tide of victory turned in their favour, and they not only obtained several victories, but succeeded in recovering the cities of Edessa and Nisibis, whilst other portions of the Roman forces under Euricius and Clarus recovered Seleucia and several other important towns.

Soon after these events Trajan died in Cilicia, (117, A.D.,) and his successor Hadrian having abandoned Parthia, Parthamaspates was expelled by his subjects, and Chosroes restored.

The policy of Hadrian being to consolidate his empire and preserve it within its ancient limits, he not only made peace with Chosroes, but restored him all the provinces of the Parthian empire, which Trajan had possessed himself of, he also returned the daughter of Chosroes whom Trajan had made captive, but the celebrated golden throne of the Parthian kings taken from Ctesiphon, although promised was not returned.

The reign of Chosroes terminated soon after these events, as we find by the coins of Vologeses II., his successor, that the latter was in the possession of the Parthian throne in 121, A.D.

As to the character of this prince, the expulsion of Exedares from Armenia to make room for Parthamasiris, who possibly may also have been unjustly set aside from the Parthian succession, proves that his conduct was by no means scrupulous. As to his military and political talents it would be perhaps not easy to speak with

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* The period during which Parthamaspates occupied the Parthian throne, (427, 428, Aer. Seleuc.,) and the troubles which preceded it, remarkably agree with the dates on Chosroes's coins, none occurring from 424 to 428, whilst of the latter and the subsequent years of his reign they are abundant.

certainty, the great power and transcendent talents of Trajan, rendering it nearly impossible for a prince circumstanced as Chosroes was, to have offered any effectual opposition to his ambitious designs.

ARSACES XXVII.—VOLOGESES II.—121, 148, A.D.

Chosroes was succeeded by his son Vologeses, whose reign seems to have commenced with rather favorable prospects ; his succession was undisputed, Parthia was beginning to recover from the convulsions of the late reign, and the pacific disposition of Hadrian, left nothing to be dreaded from the Romans with whom a treaty of peace was entered into, an interview as some authors relate, taking place between Hadrian and Vologeses ; placed however, as Parthia was in the midst of barbarous and restless neighbours, a long peace was scarcely to be expected, and accordingly we find his dominions infested by the Alani or Massagetæ, secretly instigated by Pharasmanes, king of the Iberians, who afforded through his dominions a passage for these barbarians. Their principal attacks were on Media, but a dread of the Roman power seems to have saved Armenia and Cappadocia from their incursions, and Flavius Arianus, the Roman governor of the latter country, having threatened them with the vengeance of Rome, whilst Vologeses loaded them with presents, they returned to their own country. The Parthian king however incensed at the treachery of Pharasmanes, sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of his conduct, and they were immediately followed, or as some writers say, anticipated by Pharasmanes, who with his queen repaired to Rome to defend his conduct before Hadrian and the senate, and with such success that he was acquitted by the emperor, and his reception was altogether so favorable, that he and his queen were admitted to the unusual honor of being allowed to sacrifice in the capital.

Hadrian died in the following year, (138, A.D.), and Vologeses anxious to obtain the good graces of the new emperor, lost no time in sending ambassadors to congratulate him on his accession, and present him with a golden crown.* They were also instructed to renew the demand of the celebrated golden chair, (the Parthian throne of state), which notwithstanding the promises of Hadrian to

* A large brass coin was struck on this occasion, representing a Parthian presenting with one hand a radiated crown, and holding in the other the weapons of his country, and the legend PARTHIA . COS . II., S.C.

Chosroes, was still detained by the Romans as a monument of victory; this application was however unsuccessful, and produced a misunderstanding between Antoninus and Vologeses, which was still further increased by the death of Parthamaspates king of Armenia, and the usual struggle between Rome and Parthia for the nomination to the vacant throne, and Achæmenides, the son of the late king having although himself of the family of the Arsacidæ, solicited the crown from Antoninus instead of from Vologeses, was declared king by the former, which so irritated the Parthian king, that he made preparations for invading Armenia. Antoninus however, having expressed a determination to defend the appointment he had made, Vologeses thought it more prudent to desist, and the remainder of his reign was passed in a state of profound peace.

The scanty records we possess of this king's reign, being little more than an account of the principal events of it, afford us no means of estimating his character, they lead us however to suppose that his disposition was peaceable, and his object rather to strengthen and secure the possessions he enjoyed than to acquire new, and with the exception of the incursions of the Alani, his long reign of twenty-seven years, presents us with a period unusual in Parthian history of peace and prosperity.

ARSACES XXVIII.—VOLOGESES III.—148, 192, A.D.

Vologeses II. was succeeded by Vologeses III., who as Mr. De Bartholomæi observes, was probably his son, but so little can be gleaned on this point from historians, either ancient or modern, that the reigns of these two kings, a period amounting to no less than seventy-one years, have been generally considered as one, and to the coins of this period we are principally indebted for the arrangement which later historians have made.

The portrait on this king's coins so distinct from that of his predecessor, marks the period of his accession to have been the year 460, Aer. Seleuc., or 148, A.D., and from this period to the death of Antoninus, 161, A.D., we find no record of any historical event connected with Parthia, and we may therefore conclude that this blank like so many others which the page of history presents, was a period of peace.

About the time of Antoninus's death, we find the Armenian throne occupied by Soemus, the son of Achæmenides, and the succession of this king, who probably received his investiture from the Romans, seems to have excited the displeasure of

the Parthian king, and accordingly the new emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus had scarcely assumed the reins of government, when Vologeses entered Armenia, expelled Soemus, and placed on the throne Chosroes, probably a prince of the race of the Arsacidæ, and following up his success, he even entered Syria, and defeated the Roman general Lucius Attilius Cornelianus.

The news of this invasion caused considerable alarm at Rome, and the matter was considered of such importance, that the Senate immediately nominated Lucius Verus, one of the emperors, to take the command of the army in Asia.

That prince on his arrival in Syria, which it seems probable Vologeses had previously evacuated, sent L. Statius Priscus, one of his generals to conduct the war in Armenia, whilst he himself taking up his quarters at Antioch, passed his time in hunting and other amusements. His general Priscus, was according to some authors at first unsuccessful, but shortly defeated Chosroes, and took the great city of Artaxata, on which Verus having sent for Soemus, who had fled to Rome, again placed him on the Armenian throne, and this triumph was honored at Rome by the issue of medals in gold and bronze, bearing the legend REX . ARMENIIS . DATVS . TRP . IIII . IMP . II . COS . II ., with the emperor Verus sitting on an estrade, before which the Armenian king is standing.

Vologeses enraged at the reverses he had experienced, again in the commencement of the next spring invaded Syria, but was totally defeated by Avidius Cassius, who governed that country under Verus, whilst Cassius following up his success, not only took and burnt Seleucia, but crossed the Euphrates, and having taken Ctesiphon, destroyed the palace, used as a winter residence by the Parthian kings, after which Mesopotamia was overrun and plundered by Cassius, and Media by Martius Verus, another of Verus's lieutenants, the emperor himself remaining with the main body of his army on the banks of the Euphrates.

For these successes both the Roman emperors received the appellations of *Armeniacus, Parthicus,* and *Medicus,* which appear on the coins of these princes.

Cassius following up his success took Babylon and plundered it, but a pestilence* breaking out in that city, and numbers of the Romans having fallen victims to it, the Roman general returned with his army into Syria.

In this place (166, A.D.), another prince named Monneses has been introduced into the series of Parthian kings by Vaillant, and Lewis and some later writers

* The Roman writers attribute this pestilence to a dreadful stench which proceeded from a Golden Coffer in the temple of Apollo, which was opened by a soldier in search of plunder.

have adopted the same error, the origin of which seems to have arisen from a coin bearing the name of Monneses,* and the date 422, which Vaillant, who mistook the era of the Seleucidæ for that of the Parthians, (a difference of 57 years), supposed to fall within the reign of Vologeses III., who reigned from 460 to 504, Aer. Seleuc., and 403 to 447, Aer. Arsac., instead of that of Chosroes, who reigned from 420 to 423 of the former era.

The retreat of the Romans into Syria, seems to have encouraged Vologeses to take advantage of this movement, and accordingly we find him ravaging Mesopotamia, and encroaching on the Roman provinces, his progress was however arrested by the approach of Verus and his legions, and the generals of the latter having crossed the Euphrates, were met by Vologeses, and a well contested battle ensued which ended in the defeat of the Parthians, and in a treaty of peace, the principal condition of which was, that the Tigris instead of the Euphrates, was established as the bounds between the two empires, and thus Mesopotamia so long the subject of contention was finally annexed to the Roman dominions.

Verus having settled the affairs of the east, and been saluted by his army as *Imperator* for the fourth time, now returned to Rome to enjoy the honors of a triumph, and the Roman writers having no longer any object of interest in these countries to record, in which the Parthians were concerned, a blank ensues as to the concluding portion of Vologeses's reign, we learn however, that on the death of Soemus the Armenian king, his son Sanatruces succeeded under the auspices of Verus, a circumstance which coupled with the extension of the Roman boundary, affords a proof that the Romans had at last obtained the upper hand over the Parthians, although they had yet many a hard struggle to maintain with that powerful and crafty people.

The precise period of this kings reign cannot be exactly ascertained, 502 being the last date on his coins, and 504 the first on those of his successor, but the latter year was probably the point of separation between the two reigns, for we find that year, which was also the period of the emperor Commodus's death, has been adopted by Lewis,† on grounds altogether distinct from the dates on the coins.

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* The type of this coin, (Hercules sitting), and the legend ΣΩΤΗΡΟC, shew that this prince was one of the kings of Characene, generally tributary to the Parthians.

† Lewis and Vaillant have considered the reigns of Vologeses II. and III., a period of 71 years, (called by them 55), as that of Vologeses II., and that of Vologeses IV., as that of Vologeses III.

We find nothing recorded by the Roman writers relative to the character of Vologeses III., but the numerous and important events of his reign lead us to suppose that he was a prince of a much more active and warlike disposition than his father, and the character of mildness and beneficence given by Lewis, who speaks of the two reigns as one, is more applicable to his father, whose chief object seems to have been peace.

ARSACES XXIX.—VOLOGESES IV.—192—209, A.D.

This prince who is called by Vaillant and Lewis, Vologeses III., was the eldest son of the late king, and his desire of taking part in the civil wars in which the competitors for the Roman throne were engaged, was the cause of involving him in a war with the Romans.

Scarcely was he seated on the Parthian throne, when he invaded Armenia, then possessed by Sanatruces, but that very able prince, even as it would seem without the assistance of the Romans, compelled him to a disgraceful retreat.

The death of Commodus, and the accession of Vologeses took place about the same time, and Pertinax the successor of the former being dethroned after a short reign of three months, and Didius Julianus after a still shorter, Pescennius Niger, then governor of Syria, was declared emperor by the eastern legions at Antioch, whilst Severus was supported by the legions in Pannonia and Illyricum, and Clodius Albinus by those of Britain.

Vologeses unfortunately for himself, and probably considering that his policy lay in supporting the claimant who was nearest to him, warmly embraced the cause of Niger, and after the defeat and death of that emperor, the victorious Severus turned his arms against Vologeses, and took the city of Nisibis; his resentment was however for the time averted by the necessity of opposing his remaining rival Albinus, but in a sanguinary engagement which ensued near Lyons, the latter being defeated and slain, Severus again returned to the east, determined to revenge himself on all those who had embraced the cause of Niger.

Arriving on the confines of Armenia,* the king of that country by giving hostages and large sums of money, and promising inviolable fidelity to Severus, succeeded in averting the resentment of that cruel and revengeful despot, who next proceeded against Barsemius king of the Atreni. In his way he was met by

* Herodian, B. 3, C. 27.

Abgarus king of Osrhoene, bringing his sons as hostages, and a large body of Archers as auxiliaries, and continuing his progress through Mesopotamia and Adiabene, he made an inroad on the country of Arabia Felix, which having laid waste, he proceeded to enter the territories of the Atreni, and to invest Atræ, its capital a city almost impregnable, being situated on a high mountain, surrounded by lofty and strong walls and well defended by expert archers.

Severus anxious if possible to reduce it, omitted nothing that could contribute to effect it, and moved up engines of every description for that purpose, nor were the efforts of the besieged less remarkable, for to the usual weapons of defence, arrows and stones, were added the following rather singular ones, viz., earthen vessels filled with winged and poisonous insects, which pitching on the faces and creeping under the armour and garments of the besiegers, stung and wounded them severely, to these annoyances were added the more grievous ones of disease and lassitude produced by the intense heat of the sun, which carried off more than the weapons of the besieged.*

Severus perceiving that the progress of the siege so far from advancing, became every day rather in a worse position, determined on withdrawing his troops before they should perish, they were indeed in a most dejected state, being as Herodian observes so used to victory, that they now considered themselves conquered, because they for once failed to conquer.

Fortune, however, befriended Severus, in a manner altogether unexpected, and placed within his reach an achievement of far greater importance than that he was compelled to relinquish, for having embarked his army in the fleet which accompanied him, with the intent of proceeding to the Roman side of the Tigris, they were carried down by the force of the current to the territory of the Parthians, and not far from the great city of Ctesiphon, where the king then resided at his ease, and totally unconcerned about the proceedings of Severus, as matters which had no relation to himself.†

The unscrupulous and treacherous emperor, however, perceiving the Parthians unprepared, resolved to avail himself of it, and landing his troops, proceeded to drive off the cattle, and then to lay waste the country and burn the villages, and at last arrived at Ctesiphon itself, where the Parthian king resided.‡

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* Herodian, B. 3, C. 28. † Herodian, B. 3, C. 29.

‡ Herodian calls him "the great king Artabanus," but exclusive of the testimony of other historians, the dates on the coins of this monarch prove him to be Vologeses IV.

So totally were the Parthians taken by surprise, that the Roman army met with but little resistance, and barbarously did they use their victory, for they slew without mercy every one they met, making captives only of the women and children, whilst the king himself escaped with a few horsemen, leaving all his treasures to his victors, who went off loaded with plunder, and thus Severus as Herodian* observes, by good fortune rather than by design, achieved his great victory over the Parthians, a triumph which Severus appears to have made the most of, for he immediately sent pompous letters on the subject to the senate and Roman people, accompanied by pictures, representing in a popular form the victories he had gained, he then accompanied by his youthful sons,† returned in triumph to Rome,‡ where the senate responded to his ambition, by heaping on him every honor they could devise, and titles taken from the conquered nations ; in return for which he lavished on them festivals, sacrifices, grand shows, and public assemblies, and what was not less acceptable, a large *Congiarium,* or largess in money. (A.D., 201.)

Severus after this, remained for several years at Rome, engaged in civil matters, the administration of justice, and the education of his children.§

Three legions had been raised by Severus for the Parthian war, and received the appellation of Parthian, two of which were now stationed in Mesopotamia to defend the Roman borders.

Vologeses reigned eight or nine years after these transactions, but we find nothing recorded by the Roman writers relative to this period, which probably was one of peace to the Parthian empire. Lewis|| supposes from a passage in Dion, that he died in the reign of Caracalla, which commenced 211, A.D., but as we have coins of his successor of a date corresponding with 209, we must consider the last named year as the point of separation between the two reigns, and that Caracalla in speaking of the death of Vologeses, and the contest which ensued between his sons, merely referred to an event which had occurred a year or two before, and the dissentions resulting from which were still existing.

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* B. 3, C. 30. † Caracalla and Geta.

‡ Spartian and other writers say, he refused the honor of a triumph, not being able to sit in his Chariot on account of the gout, and the words of Herodian Νικηφορος, &c., may simply mean that he was received at Rome with rejoicings and acclamations.

§ Herodian, B. 3, C. 32. || P. 353.

We have no means of estimating this prince's character; he seems to have been not devoid of ambition, but his military talents were not of a high order, and although the greater part of his reign was blessed with peace and tranquillity, his subjects on many occasions suffered much from the inroads and ravages of the Romans, and his reign altogether may be considered as one of the least glorious in the Parthian annals.

ARSACES XXX.—VOLOGESES V., AND ARSACES XXXI.—ARTABANUS V.—209—227, A.D.

The reign which we now approach, the last but most eventful and important in the history of the Parthians, is also perhaps the most difficult to exhibit with clearness and accuracy; like the history of most of the preceding reigns, the details we possess of it are chiefly from the pen of Roman writers, but their accounts relate principally if not entirely to the great events in which the two rival empires were concerned, whilst those occurrences with which the Romans were unconnected, if recorded at all, are generally related in a manner obscure, imperfect, and often inconsistent with the accounts of other writers, thus we have full and clear accounts of the Roman expeditions under Caracalla and Macrinus, but so scanty and imperfect are the other historical notices of this joint reign, that we can scarcely be certain which of these Parthian kings was the eldest, whether their administration was joint, or over separate portions of the empire, or whether their reigns terminated at the same time, and so little is said of Vologeses, that the reader of this portion of history would be almost inclined to consider Artabanus as the sole king, the Roman and Persian writers having scarcely noticed any other, and to consider it even as possible that the two names should belong to the same prince.

On the death of Vologeses IV., it is universally admitted that a struggle took place between the sons of that monarch, but historians do not seem to agree as to whether Vologeses or Artabanus was the elder, and better entitled by birth right to the throne.

Herodian* calls him (216, A.D.), Artabanus, king of the Parthians.

Vaillant† speaks of Artabanus as the eldest son of Vologeses, and says, that he was compelled to enter into a contest with his brothers, and that having by some means succeeded, he established himself without competitor on the Parthian throne.

* B. 4, C. 18. † P. 369.

Lewis* calls Artabanus the eldest son of Vologeses, and says, that after he had suppressed the pretensions of his brothers, he succeeded to the throne.

All these accounts may be said to agree, and they are supported by the Persian historians, who under the name of Ardevan, speak of Artabanus as the Parthian ruler, but whose accounts, however, relate chiefly to the period immediately preceding the dissolution of the Parthian empire.

On the other hand, Mr. De Bartholomæi† places Vologeses before Artabanus, and states that the bloody contest between the brothers was terminated by a division of the kingdom, which subsisted until their reign was ended in 227, A.D., by the extinction of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, which had ruled over the Parthian empire for nearly five centuries.

Agathias fixes the death of Vologeses V., at the year 538, Aer. Seleuc.

Most modern numismatists seem to have taken the same view of the matter, and the important and unquestionable evidence of the coins of this period, support us in assigning to Vologeses the superior rank and pre-eminence in the Parthian empire, for the numerous suite of Parthian coins of this period are ascertained to belong to that prince, by a tetradrachm noticed by M. Longperier, in his essay on the eleven last princes of the Arsacidæ, and which together with the usual portrait, bears the *name* of *Vologeses*, and the date 539, the last on the coins of the Arsacidæ, thus proving that Vologeses was not only the superior prince, but that his reign extended to the last year of the dynasty.

We are therefore, I think well warranted in considering that Vologeses and Artabanus possessed the empire between them, until the termination of the dynasty, and in supposing that the reason why Artabanus alone has been spoken of by the Roman writers, in their accounts of the wars between the two empires, was on account of his military talents, and because like his predecessor Bardanes, he probably ruled over that part of the Parthian empire adjoining the Roman frontier, and we may also suppose the Persian writers were influenced by the same reasons.

The first events we find circumstantially related by the Roman writers after the accession of Vologeses and Artabanus, are those connected with the expedition of Caracalla into Syria and Parthia, which occurred A.D., 214—217.

Caracalla was in Germany, when accounts reached him of the dissensions between the Parthian brothers, and judging it a favorable opportunity for interfering in the

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* P. 353. † P. 79.

affairs of the east, he set out for Syria, through Illyricum, Thrace and Macedon, and wintering at Nicomedia, he employed himself in organizing the Macedonian Phalanx, which he had raised in that province, he also prepared two immense machines for the Armenian and Parthian wars, capable of being taken in pieces and transported into Syria by sea.*

On his arrival at Antioch, the treachery and cruelty which he had so frequently been guilty of at Rome, was again exhibited, and here and at other stages of his expedition, a series of acts committed by him, such as the basest of tyrants have seldom attempted.

Abgarus king of Osrhoene, had been the esteemed friend of his father Severus, and supposing that he would receive at least a favorable reception from the son, came to wait on him, but that base emperor ordered him to be seized and thrown into prison, leaving Osrhoene without a ruler.

To conciliate the city of Edessa, however, he made it a Roman colony, and called it Marcia Antoniniana, after his own name. He next by a friendly letter invited the king of Armenia Vologeses, the son of Sanatruces, to come to him for the purpose of settling a dispute between that king and his sons, and on his arrival with his queen and sons, they were treacherously seized and treated in the same manner as Abgarus.

He next turned his attention to the Parthian empire, and the pretence he made use of was that Vologeses, the father of the reigning kings had not given up to him two individuals Tiridates and Antiochus, who after being a long time under the protection of, and treated honorably by the Roman emperors, had gone over to the Parthian king.

Artabanus being still under apprehensions of his brothers, and fearing the intervention of the Romans, thought it prudent to deliver up the fugitives, and by these means avoided for the present the designs of Caracalla.

After this Caracalla proceeded into Egypt, where a still more atrocious act was committed by him.

Whilst at Rome it had reached his ears, that the people of Alexandria had passed some satirical and witty remarks on his conduct, particularly for the murder of his brother Geta, and for his incestuous intercourse with his step-mother Julia Domna, whom they called Jocasta, and also for that being a very small man, he had the vanity to imitate Alexander the Great and Achilles.

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* Dion, B. 77.

These attacks were not forgotten by this vile emperor, and he now perceived an opportunity of revenge. Pretending a strong desire to see a city founded by the great Alexander, and to consult the god Serapis, the favorite deity of the inhabitants, he entered their city, and ordered hecatombs to be prepared, and religious ceremonies of every kind, and the people fond of show, and flattered by the attention paid to their national customs, prepared to receive him in an unusually distinguished manner, and music of every kind, perfumes the most costly, illuminations and flowers, were lavished with unsparing hand, to shew their admiration of their distinguished guest.

The first visit of Caracalla was to the temple, where having sacrificed many victims and loaded the altars with incense, he proceeded to the monument of Alexander, where stripping off his purple robe, his jewelled rings, his belt, and every valuable article about his person, he placed them as an offering on the tomb, after which the Alexandrians ignorant of the deceit which lurked in the tyrants heart, gave themselves up to the most unbounded joy, and celebrated the festival for whole days and nights.*

But a very different scene alas! soon awaited them, Caracalla perceiving that an immense number of people had flocked in from the neighbouring districts, thought it a favorable time for putting in execution his nefarious designs, and issued an edict setting forth, that in imitation of the Macedonian and Spartan Phalanxes, it was his intention to form one in honor of Alexander, and ordering all the young men to stand up in ranks, that he might examine the age, stature and fitness for war of each individual.

The young men deceived by these pretences, and elated with the marks of distinction which they thought awaited them, flocked together in great numbers, accompanied by their parents and brothers, rejoicing and congratulating. Caracalla then proceeded slowly through their ranks, praising and commending them individually, whilst his army was gradually surrounding them, when perceiving that they were all enclosed by his soldiers as with a net, he retired with his guards and gave the signal to his soldiers, who immediately rushed on their victims and began to slaughter them without mercy, not sparing any one within the fatal circle. Whilst a large portion of the soldiers were thus engaged in this horrible butchery, the remainder were busied in digging large pits, into which were thrown indiscriminately the dead, the dying, the wounded, and even many unhurt, who were thus

* Herodian, B. 4, C. 15.

buried alive, nor did the Roman soldiery altogether escape, for numbers of them were seized in desperation by the Alexandrians and dragged into the pits where they perished with their victims, and such was the slaughter of these unfortunate people, that rivers of blood ran from the spot, and the mouths of the Nile and all the shores around were dyed with blood.*

After this treacherous and brutal massacre, than which the pages of history can scarcely present any thing more diabolical, the base and cruel emperor proceeded into Syria, where wishing to emulate his predecessors by obtaining the surname of *Parthicus*, and wanting that courage which had conferred on them success, he resolved on accomplishing his object by treachery, and accordingly sent an embassy to Artabanus, the Parthian king, with valuable presents, and a letter asking his daughter in marriage, and enlarging on the advantages which would accrue to the two most powerful empires in the world by such an union.†

The Parthian on receiving this letter at first refused the proposal, observing on the incongruity of such a marriage between parties who did not understand each others language, and whose manners and habits were so totally different, and pointed out to the emperor that there was no scarcity of noble Roman ladies, who would be a more suitable match for him, whilst there were in Parthia many descendants of the Arsacidæ who would answer better for his own daughter.

Caracalla, however, determined to persevere in accomplishing the object he had in view, by loading the Parthian with additional presents, and declaring by the most solemn oaths his eagerness for the match, at last prevailed on Artabanus to consent, and he was now acknowledged as the son-in-law of the Parthian king.‡

As a friend and relative, Caracalla now crossed without molestation the rivers which intervened, and entered the Parthian territory, where he was received with all the pomp and honors usually displayed by Asiatic princes, and with which he affected to be well pleased, and on his approaching the royal city, Artabanus himself went out into the plain to receive him as his son-in-law.

An immense multitude of the Parthians accompanied him, crowned with garlands of flowers, and clad as at a festival, with robes of various colours embroidered with gold, and dancing to the sound of pipes, flutes, and cymbals, in which they take great delight, especially on extraordinary occasions, when they have taken more wine than usual.

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* Herodian, B. 4, C. 17. † Herodian, B. 4, C. 18.

‡ Herodian, B. 4, C. 20.

All the multitude being assembled, their horses removed, and bows and quivers laid aside, they proceeded to their libations and carousings; an immense number were thus crowded together, regardless of order, fearing nothing, and all anxious to get a sight of the bridegroom.

Whilst thus unarmed and unprepared, Caracalla ordered his soldiers to attack them, and put them to the sword, whilst the Parthians astonished and panic struck, endeavoured to escape, but were slaughtered without mercy, having neither their horses nor their arms, and being impeded by their long garments, which reached to their feet. Artabanus himself being caught up by his body guards, and placed on horseback, with difficulty escaped.*

Caracalla having loaded his soldiers with spoil and captives, took his departure, setting fire to the neighbouring cities and villages, and giving his army permission to carry off whatever they wished or could lay hold on.

The mind of the historian sickens, as truth forces him to sully his pages with a catalogue of crimes committed by the head of a nation, considering itself the most civilized in the world, and calling every other *barbarian,* but which crimes the most barbarous of them would unquestionably never have been guilty of, and we can only express our astonishment that a people such as the Romans should have so long tolerated such a monster as their ruler, and that Artabanus should have allowed himself to be deceived, with so many examples of Roman treachery before his eyes.

Some other writers, however, give a different account of this transaction. Dion† says, that Artabanus refused to give his daughter to Caracalla, considering that the latter used the proposal only as a pretence for getting possession of the Parthian empire, on which Caracalla invaded Parthia, laid waste the country bordering on Media, reduced the city of Arbela, and destroyed the tombs of the Parthian kings, dispersing their bones, whilst the Parthians retired into the mountains beyond the Tigris to prepare for war, on which Caracalla concealing this circumstance, wrote to Rome, boasting that he had gained a glorious victory over an enemy that he had not even seen, and that a Lion‡ had suddenly descended from the mountains and fought for him.

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* Herodian, B. 4, C. 20. † B. 77.

‡ A great number of Caracalla's coins struck in the two last years of his reign, bear on the reverse a Lion with radiated head, perhaps in allusion to this story.

Spartian* says, that Caracalla entering the countries of the Cadusii and Babylonians, engaged in a tumultuary manner with the Parthians, letting wild beasts loose on them, after which he wrote to the senate claiming a victory, and then received the name of *Parthicus*.†

It must be admitted that the account of Dion as to these transactions appears more probable than that of Herodian, for it is as I have before observed, difficult to suppose that Artabanus could have allowed himself to be deceived by Caracalla, after the numerous acts of treachery committed by him, and of which he could scarcely have been ignorant. I am strongly inclined however, in common with most historians to prefer the account given by Herodian, whose minute and circumstantial details of the massacre of the Alexandrians, the death of Caracalla, thegreat battle between Artabanus and the Romans subsequent to that event, and other matters pertaining to Parthian history are universally adopted, whilst Dion has been generally considered as a flatterer of the Roman emperors, and of that part of his work which relates to these dreadful transactions only fragments remain. Much of what he relates, however, is perfectly consistent with the narrative of Herodian. As to the account given by Spartian, it is superficial and obscure, and not worthy of much credit.

Caracalla being now able to boast that he had entered the Parthian territory and conquered their king, and his soldiers being weary with slaughter and plunder, he led them back into Mesopotamia, and sent letters to the senate and people of Rome, informing them that the east was conquered by him, and that all its kings had submitted to his rule, whilst the senate although acquainted with the whole matter, yet through fear of the tyrant, decreed him all the honors of a victory, and Caracalla remained in Mesopotamia amusing himself with chariot driving and hunting.‡

But the career of this execrable monster was now drawing to a close. The Roman army was then commanded by two præfects, Audentius and Macrinus, the former an old man ignorant of politics, but not unskilled in military affairs, the latter brought up as a lawyer and unaccustomed to war, and Caracalla would often deride him as neither a soldier nor a man of courage; he would also ridicule him for his luxurious mode of living, and for his contempt for the plain food and dress of the camp, which Caracalla himself affecting the manners of a veteran soldier, was in the habit of using, Macrinus was even threatened with death by him,§ and all these causes of irritation produced their effects on his mind.

* In Caracalla.

† Vaillant, p. 375, justly remarks that the coins of Caracalla do not exhibit the cognomen of *Parthicus*, but only the words VICT . PART. ‡ Herodian, B. 4, C. 21. § Herodian, B. 4, C. 22.

Matters being so circumstanced, the following incident which was productive of important consequences occurred. Caracalla was like many of his countrymen, extremely superstitious, and placed great faith in the predictions of astrologers and necromancers, whom he was constantly in the habit of consulting from a dread he had of every one about him, but beginning to distrust these also, and to suspect them of flattery, he wrote to Maternianus the most faithful of his agents at Rome, to obtain for him the predictions of the best magicians as to the duration of his life, and whether any one was plotting against him for the possession of the empire. Maternianus whether really obtaining such responses from the magicians, or out of private dislike to Macrinus, wrote to the emperor, that Macrinus was plotting to obtain the empire, and that it would be necessary to take him off. This letter together with other despatches was sent as usual by the public courier, who knew nothing of their contents, and happened to arrive just as Caracalla, was about to mount his chariot. The emperor not wishing to lose his favorite amusement, handed the packet to Macrinus, with directions to inspect the contents, and if there was any thing of unusual importance, to apprize him of it, if not, to do whatever might be necessary as was the duty of the præfect.

Macrinus astounded at the contents of a paper full of such danger to himself, and well knowing the blood-thirsty disposition of Caracalla, kept back the letter which so nearly concerned himself, and reported the contents of the others as usual to the emperor; but considering that Maternianus might again write on the same subject, he thought it necessary for his own safety, to anticipate the vengeance of Caracalla by taking the following daring step.

There was in the body-guard of Caracalla a centurion named Martialis, whose brother had a few days before, on a bare accusation but without proof, been put to death by the tyrant, who had often vilified Martialis himself, calling him a coward and the friend of Macrinus. This man grieving at, and resenting the death of his brother, and much excited by the epithets applied to himself, Macrinus who had often befriended him, considered as a fit instrument for his designs, and succeeded in persuading him to assassinate the emperor on the first opportunity that should offer.*

Soon after this conspiracy was entered into, Caracalla who kept his court at Carrhæ, a city of Mesopotamia, left his palace on a visit to the temple of the Moon at Edessa, taking with him only a few horsemen, and in the course of the journey

* Herodian, B. 4, C. 23.

when the emperor had retired a little distance from the rest, Martialis embracing the opportunity followed him, and coming behind him, stabbed him with a dagger, killing him on the spot.* Martialis having accomplished his object, immediately mounted his horse and endeavoured to escape, but the German Horse Guards, who were particular favorites of Caracalla, and being nearer to him than the rest, first observed what had taken place, immediately pursued him and transfixed him with their javelins.

The rest of the army on hearing of the assassination assembled round the body, having no suspicions of Macrinus, who standing over the deceased emperor, began to lament him as a friend, brother, soldier and companion, rather than as his prince, and the soldiers regarding Martialis as the avenger of his own wrongs, and as the only one concerned in the murder, retreated to their tents.†

For two days the army uncertain what to do, remained without an emperor, debating amongst themselves as to whom they should elect, for intelligence had arrived, that Artabanus with an immense army was approaching to avenge the slaughter of so many of his subjects, committed during the time of peace.

Their first choice fell on Audentius, a soldier by profession, one of the præfects, and a man of rather fair character, who however, excused himself on account of his age.

They then pitched on Macrinus, chiefly through the interest of certain tribunes, (or commanders of cohorts), who were afterwards suspected of being, as well as Macrinus himself, privy to the death of Caracalla, and Macrinus accepted of the crown, not as Herodian‡ says, so much from a reliance on the good will and faith of the soldiery, as from the urgency of the occasion.

In the meantime Artabanus was at hand with immense forces, including a large body of horse, a multitude of archers,§ and a great number of *Cataphracti*, (soldiers clad in complete armour), mounted on camels and fighting with long spears, on which Macrinus having assembled his army, addressed them in a long speech to the following effect.||

. After observing that it was not to be wondered at that they should lament the loss of so great a prince and so good a soldier, whose heroic actions would live in their memory, he recommended them as they had performed all the offices and paid all the honor due to the deceased, to rouse themselves to meet the impending danger,

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* Herodian, B. 4, C. 24. † Herodian, B. 4, C. 25. ‡ Herodian, B. 4, C. 27.

§ The Parthian archers were all cavalry. || Herodian, B. 4, C. 28.

he told them the barbarian with the whole strength of the east was coming to meet them, to revenge as he alleged the violation of a solemn treaty, and the waging war against him at a time of profound peace, that the contest was not about the bounds of the two empires, or as to what river should be the limit, but for their very existence, as the great king was coming to exact vengeance for the slaughter of his children and relations, committed as he contended contrary to solemn treaties,* and he concluded by recommending them as brave Roman soldiers to keep their ranks steadily, and prove as they had often done, the advantage of their discipline over a crowd of barbarians, whose very numbers might prove an impediment to themselves, and by these means, shew that they were able to overcome them not by fraud or deceit,† but openly and by superior valour and dicipline: the Romans then formed themselves in battle array and prepared for the combat.

On the rising of the sun, the army of Artabanus appeared drawn up in immense masses, and through reverence to the sun according the Parthian custom, raising a prodigious shout, they rushed on the Romans, using their bows and charging with their horses.

The Romans drawn up in good and compact order, with the Roman and Moorish‡ cavalry on the wings, and the light armed infantry in the intervals from whence they could conveniently sally forth, received with firmness the shock of the Parthians, but suffered greatly from the clouds of arrows, and the long spears of the *Cataphracti,* from their camels and horses; at close combat the Romans had decidedly the advantage, but being pressed on by such a multitude of horsemen and camels, they feigned a retreat, and threw down caltrops and other machines of iron armed with spikes, which lying concealed in the sand, grievously annoyed the horsemen and camel riders, for these engines being trod on, the horses and still more the camels whose hoofs are very tender, were immediately lamed and threw off their riders, these people indeed as long as they can sit on horseback or on their camels are very formidable, but when dismounted or thrown down they are easily taken, not being able to contend in close combat, and in flight or pursuit they are altogether incommoded by the length of their garments.

* These admissions of Macrinus so much at variance with the splendid character he had given Caracalla, are a strong confirmation of the account before given of the base and treacherous conduct of that emperor.

† Another evident allusion to the treachery of Caracalla. This speech has been given at length by most historians.

‡ Macrinus was himself a native of Mauretania.

In this manner the battle was continued for two days, from sun rise until evening, night alone putting an end to the combat, and both parties retreating as victors to their respective camps.

The loss of the combatants on both sides during these two hard contested days must have been very great; to the Parthians, however, whose immense masses could only partially be brought into action, the loss was comparatively of little importance, but the situation of the Romans, whose ranks could not be thus recruited, was now become critical in the extreme, and accordingly we learn from Herodian,* that on the third day when both armies drew out their forces to renew the combat, the Romans to prevent themselves from being completely surrounded, were obliged to extend their compact phalanxes into a feeble line, and in this manner the battle was renewed, but such were the piles of dead bodies, horses, and above all of camels who fell in heaps over one another on the field of battle, that the rival armies could scarcely come into close contact, or in some places even see one another, and the combatants again retreated to their respective camps.

Macrinus astonished at the unusual ardour and perseverance of the Parthians, who seemed determined to renew the combat as soon as they had buried their dead and cleared the field, and conjecturing that Artabanus must have supposed that he was fighting against Caracalla, and determined on avenging himself for the injuries he had sustained, sent messengers to the Parthian king, informing him that the emperor, who had so flagrantly violated his treaties and his oaths was no longer living, but had suffered the just punishment of his perfidy, that the Romans had committed the empire into his hands, that he had never approved of the acts of his predecessor, and was now ready to deliver up all the captives who remained alive, and to return all the property that had been carried off, and that he wished instead of an enemy to become an ally, and to confirm the treaty of peace by oaths and libations.

Artabanus, whose hostility had been chiefly against Caracalla, having learned the death of that emperor, and being satisfied at having the captives and all the plunder returned to him, accepted the terms offered by Macrinus, and having entered into a treaty with him returned home, and the Roman emperor having withdrawn his forces from Mesopotamia returned to Antioch.†

A somewhat different account is given by Dion,‡ who states that Macrinus hearing of the preparations making by Artabanus, endeavoured to accommodate

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* B. 4, C. 30. † Herodian, B. 4, C. 30, 31. ‡ B. 78.

matters with him, but the latter demanding the restitution of such cities as had been destroyed by the Romans, and compensation for the destruction of the royal tombs,* Macrinus unwilling to make such concessions, advanced towards Nisibis, and being twice defeated by Artabanus, was compelled to make peace at the expense of fifteen millions of drachms.†

Zonaras also mentions, that Macrinus was twice defeated by Artabanus near Nisibis, and was compelled to purchase a peace for a very large sum.

Spartian‡ mentions that Macrinus ambitious of covering the infamy of his actions, and the baseness of his birth by the glory of a victory, engaged in a well contested battle with Artabanus, after which a peace being concluded, he returned to Antioch. It may be observed however, that none of these accounts are materially inconsistent with the more detailed and probable statement given by Herodian of this most remarkable contest.

Macrinus appears to have acted with fairness and liberality towards Tiridates, the son of Vologeses, king of Armenia, whom he placed on the throne of that kingdom, Vologeses and his other sons having died in prison, into which they were thrown by Caracalla as before related.§

Thus terminated a battle, the longest and one of the most creditable to the Parthians they had ever fought, it was however, but the last ray of departing glory for their sceptre was about to pass into other hands, and a race of vigorous and warlike princes to give place to another of a different country, and a different language.

The great battle we have been just describing was fought, A.D., 218, and between that period and the termination of the reigns of Vologeses and Artabanus, a period of nine years, we have but few notices relative to Parthia from the Roman writers, there being peace between the two countries, it appears however, that on the death of Tiridates, king of Armenia, the Parthian kings appointed

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* These as Lewis, (p. 362), observes, were originally erected in a tower at Ecbatana, by the Prophet Daniel, and in them were buried the kings of the Medes, Persians and Parthians; an account of them is given by Josephus, Ant., B. 10, C. 11, S. 7.

† About half a million of our money; Allen, p. 435, says more than a million and a half. Dion also mentions, that the Senate having in a servile manner offered Macrinus the title of ***Parthicus***, he refused it, conscious that it was unmerited. The Senate however, caused a large brass coin to be struck, bearing on the reverse Victory, seated on armour, and holding a buckler, with the legend VICTORIA . PARTH . COS. II. P.P.

‡ In Macrino.

§ Dion, B. 78.

Arsaces,* one of their brothers to the vacant throne, from which circumstance we may conclude that the Romans had no desire to interfere in the affairs of Parthia.

Of the remaining events of this joint reign, the last in the annals of Parthia, neither Roman or Persian historians have supplied us with any very full or satisfactory details, although these events as relating to the transferring the empire of the Parthians to a Persian dynasty, are of the highest importance. Artabanus is still spoken of, as if he alone reigned over Parthia, and the following are the principal details with which we are furnished.

The origin of the individual by whom this great revolution was effected, does not seem to be very clearly ascertained. Artaxerxes, (as he is called by the Roman and Greek writers), Ardeshir or Ardshir, (by the Persian), or Artahchetr, (on his coins), is sometimes called the son of Babec.† By most writers, however, and particularly by the Persians, he is called the son of Sassan and grandson of Babec, and as I find no particular notices of him in the Roman writers, previous to his struggle with Artabanus, I shall proceed to notice the Persian accounts of him in the Lives of Illustrious Persons of Eastern Nations, translated by Mr. Sale.

The author of the *Lebtarikh,* calls him Ardshir Babagan, and says, that he was the son of Sassan, a mean person, who was supposed to have been shepherd to Babec, whose daughter he had married, and that he called his son Babagan, in honor of his grandfather.

The same names and the same pedigree are given by the *Tarikh Kodizeh* and the *Benakits,* except that Ardshir is called the grandson of Sassan, but a very different rank is assigned to the individual; it is there said that Sassan was the brother of Homai, the reigning queen of Persia, and excluded from the throne, on which he went into voluntary exile, that many years after, one of the sons of Sassan desiring to visit the country of his ancestors, came to Fars or Persia, and entered the service of Babec, who governed that kingdom, then only a province under the Parthian king *Ardevan,* that Babec, perceiving the great abilities and graceful person of the youth, gave him his daughter in marriage, the issue of which was the young Ardshir, who after his grandfather was surnamed Babagan.

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* It is probable this prince has some other name, as that of ***Arsaces*** was common to all the princes of the dynasty.

† Procopius calls him the son of Pauccus, a Persian, and tanner of hides, whilst Vaillant says, he was educated by Pauccus, a Persian, and supposed to be his son.

The youth being carefully brought up and educated, soon arrived at such perfection in every exercise and accomplishment, as to attract the notice of king *Ardevan,* who sent for him, and was so much taken with his manners and abilities that he kept him in his palace and treated him as one of his own sons.

One day, when Ardshir went hunting with the young princes, the king their father followed them, anxious to see their relative acquirements, and perceiving that Ardshir far surpassed his own sons in the use of his bow and the management of his horse, he began to be jealous of him, and sent him into one of the remote provinces to command his forces there.

On the death of his grandfather Babec, Ardshir again presented himself at court to solicit the vacant government, which however, Ardevan refused, intending the appointment for his eldest son.

At this time, say the Persian writers, Ardevan had a terrific dream, which according to the interpretation of the soothsayers, intimated that a fugitive once belonging to his court should deprive him of his crown, which circumstance being known to one of the females of his seraglio, she persuaded Ardshir to elope with her, and thus ground a coincidence with the answer of the soothsayers, and Ardevan hearing of their flight began to dread the effects of the prediction.

In the meantime, Ardshir proceeded to the city of Estekhar,* the capital of Persia, where he was cordially received by the friends of his grandfather.

This naturally excited the jealousy of young Ardevan, who governed Persia for his father, but he had soon more substantial cause for his suspicions, for Ardshir appeared in arms and declared war against him, and several battles were fought between them, in the last of which Ardevan was slain, and his kindred and followers either embraced the cause of Ardshir, or underwent the fate of their prince.

King Ardevan (Artabanus), on hearing of this revolution, marched with a large army against Estakhar, but was totally routed, and lost his life in the engagement, on which Ardshir not only took possession of Persia, but extended his conquests on all sides, taking in imitation of his Parthian predecessor the title of *Malcan Malca,* (king of kings),† and to secure himself more completely in the possession of his newly acquired kingdom, he espoused the daughter of his predecessor Ardevan.‡

* Better known by the Greek name of Persepolis. Diodorus calls this city "πλϐσιωτάτην ουσαν τῶν υπο τον ἡλιον," the richest under the sun.

† Sale's Lives of Illustrious Persons, p. 28, 31.

‡ Sale's Lives, p. 33, where the author also states that this princess disliking her husband, and anxious to restore the Parthian dynasty in the person of one of her brothers, who still survived,

The overthrow of Artabanus is only superficially noticed by Herodian*, and placed by him nearly at the end of Alexander Severus's reign, but Agathias† fixes it correctly at the fourth year of that emperors reign, (226 A.D.)

Whatever might have been the private character of Artabanus, of which we have no means of judging; there is no doubt but he was one of the most able princes of the Parthian series; engaged during the greater part of his long reign in struggles with his own family, with the Romans, and finally with the Persians, he had difficulties to encounter greater than perhaps fell to the lot of any of his predecessors, and notwithstanding the bad fortune which in the end overwhelmed him, his reign must be considered as one of the most glorious in the annals of Parthia.

Of his brother Vologeses we have but few notices, but it is probable that he survived Artabanus, and probably reigned a few months longer over the northern portion of the empire, when he also fell under the power of Persia.

Thus terminated the dynasty of the Arsacidæ, a race of princes amongst the most remarkable the pages of history describe, and who for nearly five hundred years, swayed the sceptre of the Parthian empire, by far the most important at that time in Asia, and during a great portion of which time they were the formidable rivals of the Romans.

Sanguinary and crafty, proud and haughty, tyrannical and ambitious the greater part of them certainly were, but with all these vices they possessed qualities, which on many occasions the more civilized Romans would have done well to imitate; many of them were remarkable for a nice sense of honor and fidelity to the treaties they had entered into, and for anxiety for the welfare and improvement of the countries they had conquered, and they numbered amongst them princes who would have been an ornament to any age or to any country.

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attempted to poison him, but her design being discovered, she was delivered up to one of the king's ministers to be put to death, but that officer discovering that she was pregnant, secretly allowed her to live, that Ardshir might have an heir to his throne, and after the birth of a son, who was called Sapour, a favorable opportunity occurring, he was presented to his father who joyfully received him, and he afterwards succeeded him in the empire. Tancoigne, probably on the authority of some Persian historian, states that on the death of Ardshir, who reigned about 14 years, Sapour being very young, the nobility offered the crown to his maternal uncle, (one of the brothers of the late kings Artabanus and Vologeses), who declined it, but became Guardian and Prime Minister to the young king. —Journey into Persia, p. 118.

* B. 6, C. 6. † B. 4.

A VIEW

OF

THE COINAGE OF PARTHIA.

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Of the numerous coins of the Arsacidæ, with very few exceptions, the only sizes which occur, are Tetradrachms and Drachms in silver and sometimes in potin, and small brass or copper, the first of which generally, and the last frequently, bear dates and consequently are not only themselves easy to be classed, but throw considerable light on the arrangement of the Drachms.

Unfortunately, however, the tetradrachms are seldom found except of the later kings, commencing with Arsaces XIV., the exception being a very few of Arsaces VI.,* which as well as those of Arsaces XIV., are without dates; the small brass also, although rather numerous of the early kings, do not present dates earlier than the reign of Arsaces XX., so that the part of the series which bears dates, may with the exception of a drachm, which I have assigned to Arsaces X., be said to commence with Arsaces XV., on the greater part of whose tetradrachms, and on all those of his successors of the Parthian dynasty dates are found, as also on a great number of the small brass from Arsaces XX., downwards, whilst only on the drachm, (belonging I think to Arsaces X.,) do we find a date.

The drachms being not only the earliest, the most numerous, the most complete, and the most interesting of the different classes of which the Parthian series is composed, but also that to which the attention of numismatic writers has been principally directed, I shall commence with them, including in my remarks the smaller silver coins of which but very few specimens have been discovered.

* See my observations on these coins and on those of the Drachms, with Jupiter sitting on the reverse.

Those of the first fourteen princes are more varied as to their types and legends than those of the subsequent princes, but they receive little if any illustration from the coins which bear dates, only one of which occurs amongst the coins of these first princes, and yet the great variety they exhibit renders them easier to class than the drachms which follow.

The portraits, dress, legends, and form of the letters on the later drachms, derive a considerable degree of illustration from the tetradrachms and brass coins, and would a still greater, had their neatness and accuracy of execution been equal to that of the coins of the early princes.

To begin then with the arrangement of these coins, I may in the first place observe that but little difficulty seems to exist in placing the coins nearly in the order in which they were struck, but that it is often by no means so easy to mark the line of separation between the coins of two consecutive princes, or even to appropriate with probability several of the classes.

In order however to effect any of these objects, a close examination and comparison of a very large number of these coins will be absolutely necessary, and to the want of this most indispensable requisite, may be in a great measure attributed the confused and unsatisfactory arrangements of many of our most eminent numismatists.

Having in my own cabinet nearly two hundred and fifty of these drachms, including almost every known variety, and having bestowed on their arrangement a considerable degree of attention, aided and assisted by the observations of so many eminent numismatists, I think I shall be able to effect with nearly complete satisfaction the placing these coins in the order in which they were struck, and even in appropriating them to their respective princes, to make a very near approach towards their perfect arrangement, and these objects have been greatly facilitated by the discovery of M. Lenormant, that the coins given by Pellerin to Arsaces XI., (Sinatroces,) and in which error he was followed by subsequent writers, do not belong to that prince, but to Arsaces VII., to whom their work and simplicity of legend render their appropriation far more natural and unobjectionable.

ARSACES II.—TIRIDATES—253—216, B.C.

The earliest coin in the Parthian series is that published in Green's Numismatic Atlas, which bears the kings head, with a rude leather cap with thongs depending all of the same piece, and on the reverse a figure with bow, sitting on a cortina, and the legend ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ .

This coin has been generally and I believe correctly assigned to Arsaces II., and as the type is ruder, the legend more simple, and the portrait rather different from that on the coins which follow, we may at all events place it at the head of the series.

M. Lenormant and M. Bartholomæi have suggested that the portrait on this coin and the figure sitting on these, and all the subsequent drachms of the Arsacidæ, is that of Arsaces I., the founder of the monarchy, and I have no hesitation in admitting that the figure sitting on the reverse of the drachms is that of the same prince, whose portrait is represented on Nos. 1 and 2, but I am more inclined to consider this portrait as that of Arsaces II., who although not the founder of the monarchy, was unquestionably the first who assumed the title of king, and was even considered by Justin as the first Arsaces; he is also said to have been deified after his death. M. Bartholomæi in support of his opinion, remarks that the portraits on Nos. 1 and 2, appear to be young and of the same age, and therefore not likely to be that of Arsaces II., who reigned at least thirty-seven years, but these portraits, although all beardless, do not appear to be of the same age, whilst the unique little coin in my cabinet, No. 3, in the descriptive catalogue, presents on the reverse an old bearded head, apparently of the same prince as those on Nos. 1 and 2, and probably that of Arsaces II., the portrait of his son and successor occupying the obverse. The question will certainly admit of some discussion, but is merely whether this portrait belongs to Arsaces I. or II., for the coins Nos. 1 and 2, belong beyond all doubt to Arsaces II. No. 2, differs from that just described, in exhibiting a greater degree of neatness of execution, the cap on the kings head resembling that called Phrygian, has a triangular top,* and a diadem or vitta ornamented with pearls, the face is young, and with an aquiline nose as on the former coin, the reverse bears nearly the same type as No. 1, but better executed, and the legend is increased by the addition of the word ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ.

ARSACES III.—ARTABANUS I.—216—196, B. C.

The Class which I would place next, bear the kings head with diadem, and on the reverse, a type and legend similar to that on No. 2; some of this class bear a head apparently that of a man of about forty years of age, and others struck probably at a later period of his reign, one considerably older.

* Some of the class No. 1, exhibit a similar cap.

These coins have been variously appropriated by various writers, Sestini and several others have assigned them to Arsaces III. M. Lenormant to Arsaces VI., whilst Visconti and M. Bartholomæi give them to Arsaces IV.

M. Lenormant's appropriation has been successfully combatted by M. Bartholomæi, who justly notices the incongruity of placing these coins, (some of them exhibiting portraits of a man fifty or sixty years of age), at the head of the coins of Arsaces VI., and remarks on the difference as to portrait between these coins and those admitted to belong to Arsaces VI., but his own mode of classing them is in my opinion open to objection.

The title of ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, which occurs on that class of coins which bear the letters ΤΑΜ. on the obverse, has induced M. Bartholomæi to assign them to Arsaces III., whose father was said to have been revered as a deity after his death, and those with the simple title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. to Arsaces IV., whom there is no reason to suppose entitled to the epithet ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.

This reason is undoubtedly a strong one, and were it not counterpoised by several points of evidence, collectively of greater weight, I should have no hesitation in assenting to his arrangement.

The first objection I shall notice, is one which seems to have suggested itself to almost every writer who has considered the subject, namely that the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . would seem to have preceded that which bears in addition the title ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ .

That this idea had much weight with many of these writers, appears from their endeavouring to obviate the difficulty by assigning these coins with ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. to Arsaces VII., who also was qualified to bear that title, a proof that they considered an appropriation of them to Arsaces III., still more objectionable, and I may add that the discovery of coins with +ΙΑΑΔΕΛ+ΟΥ, placed in a similar manner with ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, and which M. Bartholomæi has (I have no doubt correctly) assigned to Arsaces V., appears rather to support my arrangement.

The second objection which occurs to me and which I consider as almost insuperable, is the occurrence of the little coin No. 3, and which has not hitherto come under the notice of any one who has written on the subject; it will be observed that the heads on this curious coin, can scarcely be those of any other princes than those of Arsaces II. and III., for the aged head with Phrygian cap, could not be that of Arsaces I. who died very young; the head with diadem on the other side, must therefore be that of Arsaces III., the son and successor of Arsaces II., and if we compare it with those on the drachms bearing a head with diadem, and the legends

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ., we shall perceive that it has a considerable resemblence to the head on the former, but none whatever to that on the latter.

A third objection is suggested by the occurrence of monograms which appear on the coins with ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, and on the subsequent coins of Arsaces V. and VI., but never on any of the coins with the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ.

To these objections I may add, that the section of the neck on those with the simple legend, is exactly the same as on the coins of Arsaces II., whilst the bust on the coins with ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. rests on the edge of the coin, as we find on all the subsequent drachms of the series.

These reasons to me appear of far more weight than the occurrence of the word ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ., but if that should be deemed insuperable, and the coins bearing that word should be considered as necessarily belonging to Arsaces III., I would prefer assigning those without it and with diadem to Arsaces II. rather than to Arsaces IV., and considering them as the latter coins of the former prince, (those with the Prygian cap being his earlier coinage), I would also suggest the possibility that Arsaces III., (Artabanus), who was certainly a most distinguished prince, may have been also deified, in which case the title ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ might answer to Phraapatius if he was the son of that prince, and if he was his brother, as history is silent as to their relationship, the difficulty would be altogether removed.

ARSACES IV.—PHRAAPATIUS—196—181, B.C.

Having thus assigned to Arsaces III. the coins with bearded head and diadem, and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, the coins which are evidently the next in order, are those generally bearing the letters ΤΑΜ, (the first letters of Tambrace the capital), or some monogram on the obverse, and ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ in addition to the former legend on the reverse, and as I have just observed, I am strongly inclined to assign them to Arsaces IV. They are rather ruder in point of execution than those I have given to his predecessor, and present several varieties, those of most common occurrence, having ΤΑΜ on the obverse, whilst others want those letters, a third variety has the letters ΡΑΡ in monogram in the exergue on the reverse, and a fourth and very curious one given by Sestini and M. De Bartholomæi, has ΔΡ in monogram behind the king's head, and wants the bow on the reverse; they are all much rarer than the coins I have assigned to his predecessors.

That these coins must have been struck before the reign of Arsaces VI. is evident, not only from the cortina on which the king sits, which never appears later than on the earliest coins of Arsaces VI., but from the peculiar appearance of the figure sitting, which is exactly similar to that on the coins I have assigned to Arsaces II. and III., and quite different from that on those of Arsaces VI. and his successors. Many however of our most distinguished writers, have not scrupled from the epithet ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ to assign these coins to Arsaces XI., and even M. Lenormant who has so ingeniously discovered the proper place of the coins so long attributed to Sinatroces, has not hesitated to transfer to the same king, Arcases VII., those coins so evidently the work of an earlier period.

ARSACES V.—PHRAHATES I.—181—173, B. C.

The coins formerly assigned to this prince have been removed by M. Lenormant, and placed at the head of the numerous series struck by his brother and successor the celebrated Arsaces VI. To this arrangement I give my unqualified assent; the similiarity of portrait to those universally admitted to belong to Arsaces VI., and the title of ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ evidently copied from the Syrian coins, and not likely to have been used by Arsaces V., and above all, the occurrence of coins bearing a quite different portrait, and which can scarcely be assigned to any other prince than Arsaces V., all argue strongly for this appropriation, and it has also met with the assent and approbation of Mr. De Bartholomæi.

Until very lately no coins occurred which would fill up the gap caused by the removal of these coins; M. Dumersan in his description of the coins in the cabinet of M. Allier, first noticed a coin which bears the word ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ in addition to ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, and placed exactly in a similar way to the word ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ on the coins I have assigned to Arsaces IV., and he assigns and I think rightly, this coin to Arsaces V., and others have been since discovered and noticed by Mr. De Bartholomæi.

These coins M. Lenormant has assigned to Arsaces VI., but Mr. De Bartholomæi adopting the arrangement of M. Dumersan, considers that their proper appropriation is to Arsaces V., and in this I perfectly agree with him. He considers that the portrait on these coins, setting aside the difference of age, differs altogether from those of Arsaces VI., which appear on coins of different ages; he also considers and I think justly, that the title ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ would answer as well for Phrahates, who although he had sons of his own, left his kingdom to his brother, as for Mithridates who received such a gift.

Only three* specimens of this king's money are known, (all drachms,) one of them M. Allier's, bearing behind the king's head, the monogram of PA for Rhagæ, where it was minted.

ARSACES VI.—MITHRIDATES I.,—173—136, B. C.

The coins of this great prince, are as may be expected from the length of his reign and the extent of his conquests extremely numerous, and present a great variety of types; he is also the first of the Parthian kings of whom tetradrachms appear; the execution also of his coins, is superior to that of almost any others in this extensive series, the portraits from the strong likeness exhibited by coins struck at different times and in different places, being evidently good likenesses, the legends more legible, and the silver of a greater degree of fineness than that of most of the Parthian coins.

The first variety of his drachms is that formerly assigned to Arsaces V., but which M. Lenormant and Mr. De Bartholomæi have properly removed and placed at the head of this reign. The portrait is (allowing for the difference of age), very like that on the well known coins of this prince, whilst the cortina and the figure sitting on it, resemble those we find on the coins of his predecessors. Several monograms appear on coins of this class, which as Mr. De Bartholomæi has justly observed, seem to stand for Phraata and Apamea, the former a town probably founded by Phrahates I., and the latter in Media, built by the Greeks.

The second class not until the last few years noticed, is one with similar portrait but on which the chair or throne appears for the first time substituted for the cortina. The legend on these two classes is the same, viz., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.

The third class differs from the last in presenting an older portrait, and the addition of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ after ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Mr. De Bartholomæi notices a drachm with the older portrait, but retaining the former legend as on the coins of the second class; two specimens of this rare variety are he says known.

The fourth class exhibits the king's bust, crowned with a tiara, ornamented with crescents, the first instance of such a head dress occurring in this series, the legend is the same as that on the coins of the last class, these coins are of rare occurrence.

* Another, a very fine specimen has since been added to my own Cabinet.

The fifth class differs from the last only in the ornaments of the tiara, which are a rose of points, and round the tiara a triple edging of points; these coins are rather common. A rude coin which appears intended for an imitation of this class, bears instead of the rose, a cross of points, and the legend is rude and scarcely intelligible.

The sixth class of which not more than two or three specimens are known, requires peculiar attention from having been by several distinguished writers assigned to Arsaces VII. and VIII., it exhibits a very aged portrait not very different from that found on the known coins of Arsaces VI., and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Mr. De Bartholomæi justly remarks, that the great age of the portrait would seem to preclude its belonging to Arsaces VII. to whom Visconti has assigned it, but whilst he expresses a wish not to disturb the arrangement of M. Lenormant who gives it to Arsaces VIII., it is evident that he is more inclined to consider it as one of the last coins of Arsaces VI., and I cannot support my own appropriation of it to the last named monarch by stronger evidence, than the remarks made by that distinguished writer.

He adopts he says, M. Lenormant's attribution, although with much hesitation, as the coin seems rather to belong to Arsaces VI., and to be the last numismatic monument of that long reign; it is true (he observes), the titles are more extended than on those of Arsaces VI., and the order of progression of the titles would be infringed on by this attribution, but some kings may have assumed more modest titles than those of their predecessors, and they may have assumed themby degrees, as merited by their actions, or dictated by flattery, and thus we shall not be more astonished at a long series of titles on coins of Arsaces VI., than we should at finding them on those of Arsaces VIII. The title of king of kings, not appearing on coins from Arsaces VI. to Arsaces XII. or XIII., what reason could there be for such exhibition of vanity on the part of Artabanus, amidst the calamities of his reign, or why should he be the only exception in taking a title more pompous than the others. The tiara is similar to that on coins of Arsaces VI., and the *fanon* wanting on the drachm given by M. Lenormant, probably effaced on that coin; as to the epithets there are three which have not hitherto appeared on the drachms of Arsaces VI., viz., ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. and ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

As to the first, it appears on a coin of Agathocles, king of Bactria, before the time of Mithridates, and may have been copied from it. That of ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ having appeared on tetradrachms of Arsaces VI., struck at Seleucia, it may have been

reproduced on the Parthian money; and as to the title of ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ., it was constantly used by Arsaces VII., to whom it would not so well agree as with his father, from whom he probably inherited it.

These arguments which appear to have had their weight with the learned writer to me appear abundantly sufficient to warrant us in assigning these rare coins to Arsaces VI.

The seventh and last class of the drachms of this prince, is altogether of Grecian type, and is supposed as well as the rare tetradrachms of the same king, to have been struck at Seleucia; it bears on the obverse, the kings head turned a different way from that usually apparent on Parthian coins, that is regarding its left, and on the reverse, instead of the usual figure presenting a bow, the figure of Jupiter sitting with eagle, and the simple legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ., and in the exergue, the letters ΓΟΡ. at first supposed to be the date 173, but the most eminent writers have now discarded this supposition, although they do not seem prepared to substitute any certain explanation in its place. M. Lenormant suggests that it may stand for *Gorpiœus* the eleventh month, but Mr. De Bartholomæi considers both conjectures improbable, as he justly observes that the portrait does not accord with that of the king at the end of his reign, and the name of the month would scarcely appear without that of the year, and he suggests attention to the word ΓΟΡΟΥ. ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑ. on some rare coins of Phrahates II., and asks may not the same mysterious and unexplained formula have also appeared (abridged) on the coins of Mithridates.

The subject is a difficult one which may be cleared up by future discoveries, but as it stands, I am inclined to consider Mr. De Bartholomæi's view of it the most probable, and that the letters ΓΟΡ are neither the date of the year nor the month when it was struck.

A small silver coin is published in Num. des Rois Grecs, which I think belongs to this reign, it exhibits a portrait of the king and on the reverse, a pegasus flying to its left, and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ.

The appropriation of classes 2, 3, 4 and 5 to Arsaces VI., has been acknowledged by most numismatists, and yet M. Lenormant has not considered it unnecessary to discuss at some length the propriety of it, as however, I am not aware of any argument which could be advanced against such an arrangement, whilst no other place in the Parthian series could with any degree of probability be assigned them, I shall consider them all as well as classes 1, 6 and 7, as the different coinages of Arsaces VI.

ARSACES VII.—PHRAHATES II.—136—126, B. C.

These drachms exhibit two varieties, the first having the kings head ornamented with the simple vitta or diadem, and with short beard, and on the reverse the usual figure sitting, and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ; and the second bearing in addition to that legend the words ΓΟΡΟΥ. ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ; on both these varieties a considerable difference as to the age of the portrait, in some instances of at least ten years may be observed. That these coins belong to Arsaces VII., there can now be not a shadow of doubt, but whether any other drachms in the Parthian series can be assigned to him, is in my opinion extremely doubtful.

Mr. De Bartholomæi, considers that of all the varieties attributed by M. Lenormant to Arsaces VII., the two I have just noticed are alone certain and indisputable, and although he follows M. Lenormant in assigning those with ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ to that prince. he considers such attribution by no means certain, as he thinks the coins with that legend bear a greater analogy to those of Arsaces IX., than to those of Arsaces VII., and that the title ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ might have been adopted by Arsaces IX., as he says that it is not impossible that king may have decreed divine honors to his aged father, an intrepid warrior who was killed in battle against the enemies of his country, and that he wished to represent that fact on his coins, and as to any objection on account of the titles ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. being less extended than some of those of his predecessors, he quotes examples from the coins of the Syrian kings, where the same irregularity is observable,

With this reasoning I quite agree, and I shall therefore exclude from the coinage of Arsaces VII., all drachms except the two varieties I have assigned him, and I shall notice in their proper places those with ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ, those with ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, and those with ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ., all of which I have assigned to subsequent reigns.

ARSACES VIII.—ARTABANUS II.,—126—124, B. C.

The only coin attributed by M. Lenormant to this prince, I have already assigned to Arsaces VI., in which appropriation I coincide with Mr. De Bartholomæi, and I also agree with that learned writer, in considering that the only coin which can be assigned to Arsaces VIII., is that bearing on the obverse an old bearded head with

tiara and large aquiline nose, and on the reverse with the usual type, the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. and the following are his reasons.

The drachm he says, with ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ, which M. Lenormant has assigned to Arsaces XI., presents a portrait of an aged man, quite different from all those of the Arsacidæ of the first epoch, the style and fabric, however bear some analogy to those of the coins of Phrahates II., from whom Sinatroces is separated by a lapse of more than fifty years ; it also seems that the epithet *Autocrator*, imitated from the coins of Tryphon, king of Syria, would agree far better with Artabanus II., who commanded in person against the enemies of his country, than with the octogenerian Arsaces XI., who only took up arms in the civil wars against his competitor for the throne.*

To these reasons with which I fully coincide, I may add that Artabanus reigned only twelve years after Tryphon, and was therefore, more likely to have adopted the title of Autocrator than Sinatroces, who began to reign nearly fifty years later, I may also remark that the tiara on these coins resembles that on the head of Arsaces VI., having a rose or star on the side, and is quite different from that which appears on the coins of Arsaces IX., (with ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ,) or those with ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ., which I have assigned to Arsaces X.

Altogether I think the reader will agree with me in opinion, that this class of drachms, and this only should be assigned to Arsaces VIII.

ARSACES IX.—MITHRIDATES II.—123—87, B. C.

The reign of Mithridates II., was long and prosperous, and it may therefore be supposed that his coinage was proportionably extensive; I have already noticed Mr. De Bartholomæi's reasons for assigning to this king, the coins with ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ., and my unqualified assent to that arrangement, I am, however, compelled to differ from that writer, and also from M. Lenormant in their appropriating to the same king, those with a tiara similar to that on the last named coins, and the legend ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ., and the few without tiara but with a similar portrait and legend.

Between the coins without tiara, which have been assigned to Arsaces VII., and those of a far later period, which also exhibit the diadem only on the king's head,

* Mr. De Bartholomæi, p.p. 38, 45.

we have a long series of portraits bearing the tiara, and which seem to belong to three different princes, and I think a close comparison of those coins will satisfy us, that those with a large rose or star on the tiara, similar to that on the later coins of Arsaces VI., were the first struck, and afterwards those with a horn on the tiara and the external ornaments of stags head, these last evidently bearing two different portraits, and the legends accompanying them being also different, that of the one being ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, and that of the other ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ. +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ; the latter also, for the first time exhibit in the field of the reverse, the initials or monograms of the towns where they were struck, at first over and afterwards under the bow.

I have already given reasons for assigning the coins with a star or rose on the tiara, and the title *Autocrator* to Arsaces VIII., and I shall now assign those with the horn on the tiara, and the title ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ to Arsaces IX., and those with the same ornament and the legend ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. to Arsaces X.

M. Lenormant has attributed those with ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ. to Arsaces XI., and those with ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ and those with ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. to Arsaces VII. Mr. De Bartholomæi considers as I have done, that the first may be assigned to Arsaces VIII., but he is of opinion that the two latter classes belong to Arsaces IX. That those with ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ belong to Arsaces IX. I fully agree with that learned writer in opinion, but I think from an examination of the portraits on that class, and those with ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ., &c., we can hardly assign them to the same prince, and Mr. De Bartholomæi appears evidently to entertain scruples on this point, but doubts whether those with ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ should be given to Arsaces VII. or IX.; it will be therefore necessary for us to institute a close examination and comparison of these two classes.

In the first place, as to the portraits, those on the coins with ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ although bearing a stronger resemblance to the coins I have assigned to Arsaces VIII., (those with ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ,) than to those with ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, &c., are evidently different from both, and their age which appears less than that of the former, and greater than that of the earliest of the latter, strongly supports the division of all these coins into three classes, and their appropriation to three different princes.

In the next place, the title *Autocrator* well agrees with Arsaces VIII., who commanded his armies in person, that of *Nicator* with Arsaces IX., and I coincide with Mr. De Bartholomæi in opinion, that the title *Theopator* may have probably been

also adopted by him, and as to the titles *Euergetes*, &c., they are altogether different from the last, but we know so little of the reign of Arsaces X., that we cannot say whether they are applicable; we may also observe, that the appropriation to Arsaces IX., of the coins with ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ appears strengthened by the occurrence of a brass coin with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΟΥ . and a Pegasus flying, a type which appears on those with ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ.

The next peculiarity to be remarked, is that on the coins the last of these three classes, there first appear the monograms or initials of the towns where they were struck, at first over the bow and accompanied by a younger head on the obverse, and afterwards under the bow and having the portrait older, and as these monograms constantly appear on all the subsequent drachms, there is the strongest reason for supposing that the coins with monograms are the latest of the three classes with tiara, a circumstance that appears to have been overlooked or disregarded by M. Lenormant and several other eminent writers.

Another reason for appropriating the last noticed class to Arsaces X., is the occurrence of a coin which seems in place of the initial or monogram, to exhibit the date ΓΛΣ. 233, which falls within the period generally assigned for this prince's reign, which is supposed to have commenced about 225 and ended about 235, of the aera of the Seleucidæ, and if this should be admitted to be a date, (as seems to me highly probable,) and not the name of the town where it was struck, this would in itself be decisive of the question.

An additional reason for placing these last coins after those with ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ. and ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. is the occurrence of coins without the tiara, and the legend ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ., &c., and the same portrait as on those with tiara and the same legend, from which we perceive that the tiara was discontinued by the prince to whom I have assigned them, and not used again for nearly two centuries.

If therefore, it be admitted, that these coins with tiara, and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ* belong to three different princes, which I think we are almost compelled to do, and that they follow one another in the order in which I have placed them, as I think the evidence just adduced is sufficient to shew, it will necessarily follow that those with ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ belong as I have before assigned them to Arsaces VIII., those with ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ to Arsaces IX; and those with ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, &c., to Arsaces X., to whom the most eminent numismatists have hitherto assigned no coins of any description.

* The tiara does not again appear on the coins of the Parthian kings for nearly 200 years, and it is then accompanied by the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ., &c.

In the drachms I have thus assigned to Arsaces IX., but few varieties are observable, they nearly all bear a head with large aquiline nose, differing however considerably as to age, although scarcely as much as might be expected in a reign of 37 years, the tiara bears as I have already observed a large horn on the side, and is also externally ornamented with stags' heads or horns, and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ. ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, and the only deviations from this description are two varieties, the one exhibiting a rather young head with straight nose, and the other bearing ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. instead of ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ., and on a few coins the inscription is imperfect.

These coins are very numerous, but inferior in execution to those I have assigned to Arsaces VIII. and X.

ARSACES X.—MNASKIRES—87—77, B.C.

Neither M. Lenormant nor Mr. De Bartholomæi, have assigned any coins to this king of whom but little is known, but those I have oppropriated to him are numerous and exhibit a great many varieties, principally as to the monograms or initials which for the first time appear on the field of the reverse.*

The obverse presents a head with a tiara similar to that on the coins of the last king, and the reverse, the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. with sometimes the word ΚΑΙ before the last title, and sometimes the word ΕΥΕΡΓΕΓΟΥ turned inwards, the principal differences which appear are however the monograms or initials just noticed, and which we find on all the coins of this king, at first over and afterwards under the bow. It is not very easy to judge of the age of the portraits which vary considerably, but they do not appear to be as old as this king is said to have been, but in truth history presents us with little more than his name, nor is it even certain, that some other prince besides Mnaskires may not have occupied the throne between the reigns of Mithridates II., and Sinatroces.

A few coins occur without the tiara and with similar legend, and it will I think be admitted that they were struck by the same king, and were his latest coinage; they bear the monogram under the bow.

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* On a few coins of Arsaces IV., letters denoting the name of the town appear on the exergue on the reverse, and on the obverse of the coins of Arsaces IV., V. and VI., we find many such letters.

ARSACES XI.—SINATROCES—77—70, B. C.

The grand discovery of M. Lenormant having restored to Arsaces VII. the coins so long on the authority of Pellerin, appropriated to Arsaces XI., and those with ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ being already in this work, assigned to Arsaces VIII., it remains to be considered whether any drachms can with any degree of probability be assigned to this prince.

From the termination of the reign of Arsaces VI. to the commencement of that of Arsaces XIV., the only coins which bear the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, are a few of that class generally assigned to Arsaces XII.

These naturally appear to have been struck immediately before those with similar title assigned to Arsaces XIV., and M. Lenormant perceiving that they are not only different as to portrait, from those generally assigned to Arsaces XII., but also much younger in that respect, has naturally enough attributed them to Arsaces XIII.

That these coins, however, do not belong to that prince, but to his great predecessor and father, Arsaces XII., I have but little doubt; the portraits are some of them rather youthful, but not necessarily belonging to a very young man, as Mithridates III. was during his short reign, and some of them present a difference of at least ten years as to age, they are also more numerous than we may suppose those of Arsaces XIII. might be, and the title ΘΕΟΣ is expressely mentioned by historians* to have been conferred on Phrahates III., but above all the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ is far more likely to have been used by this truly great prince, than by his successor Mithridates III., who could have no reason for claiming a title not used by even the greatest of his ancestors since Arsaces VI.

If then it be admitted that these coins, and those with similar portrait belong to Arsaces XII., we must suppose those with full face, and the side faced coins with similar portrait and legend, from their bearing an older and different portrait, to have been struck by the monarch who preceded him, that is by Arsaces XI., and as I have already assigned the latest coins with tiara and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ., and those without tiara but with similar portrait and legend to Arsaces X., the series will thus be complete without any gap or redundancy.

The following then are the varieties of the drachms which I assign to this king.

1st. a bearded head with diadem, full face and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ✝ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΚΑΙ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . with a monogram in the field.

* See Vaillant p. 27, who quotes the following passage from Phlegon, of Tralles "Sinatruce Parthorum Rege extincto successit Phrahates cognomento *Deus*."

2nd. Similar portrait, side face, with similar legend.

3rd. Similar portrait, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ.

4th. Similar portrait, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

These varieties are all of rather rare occurrence.

ARSACES XII.—PHRAHATES III.—70—60, B.C.

Having in treating of the coins which I have assigned to the last reign, given reasons for attributing to this king, the coins with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . and ΘΕΟΥ ., &c., and also, such coins as bear a similar portrait and somewhat similar legends, I need therefore only enumerate the different varieties which these drachms present.

1. Rather young head with diadem and necklace. Reverse, usual type with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Β. behind the figure sitting, and monogram under the bow.

2. Similar head. Reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΚΑΙ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . with monogram under the bow.

3. Older head. Reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . Κ . or monogram under the bow.

4. Similar but a star behind the head.

5. Similar head without star. Reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . +ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

6. Similar head. Reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ .

7. Head rather rude. Reverse, the unusual legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΚΑΙ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

None of these varieties are common, Nos. 4, 5, 6 are probably the rarest, except that singular coin No. 7, which is in the cabinet of Lieutenant Colonel Moore, 54th Regiment, and which is I believe unique.

ARSACES XIII.—MITHRIDATES III.—60—54, B.C.

The coins assigned by M. Lenormant to this prince, I have just assigned to Arsaces XII., and I am happy to perceive that Mr. De Bartholomæi coincides with me in opinion; I also agree with him, that there is one coin and one only, which with some probability may be assigned to Arsaces XIII.

It bears a young head without beard, and the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ✝ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . and in giving the language of that learned writer, I express my own opinion on the subject.

"This drachm (he says) seems to agree with this prince better than any others, although the portrait on it differs but little from the well known one of Orodes the brother and successor of Mithridates, and the coin might have been struck at the commencement of his reign, when the epithet ✝ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ might have been assumed to avoid the imputation of being an accomplice in the attempt on his fathers life."

I may also observe, that although the portrait is like that of Arsaces XIV., the bust appears to be much more slender than that on the coins of that prince; this coin may therefore be considered as in some degree doubtful, but it is the only one which in my opinion can with any degree of probability be assigned to Mithridates III.

Not more than two or three specimens are I believe known.

ARSACES XIV.—ORODES I.—54—37, B.C.

The drachms of Arsaces XIV. which are extremely numerous, present but few difficulties, the portraits we find on them bearing in general a remarkable similitude to one another, considering the length of his reign and the great number of his mints; the legend on the greatest part of them, is that which with very few exceptions we find on all the subsequent drachms of the Parthian princes, viz.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . ; no other legend indeed has been hitherto assigned to the drachms of this king, a close attention, however, to such of his coins as have been considered as presenting barbarous and uncertain legends, will I think satisfy us, that the legend I have just quoted can not be that exhibited by these last mentioned coins, and one or two which exhibit these inscriptions more perfect than the rest, have enabled me to discover that they present a legend which seems intended for ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΠΑΚΟΡΟΥ . The difficulty in reading it is partly caused by the words ΚΑΙ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . commencing behind and being continued under the figure sitting on the reverse; the portrait is that of Arsaces XIV., and the coin bears the names of that prince and of his son, the celebrated Pacorus who distinguished himself so much against the Romans, and was at last slain in battle against them; these coins are rather common although on most specimens

the legend is nearly unintelligible, and of great importance, as being amongst the few which exhibit any other name than that of Arsaces; and it may be observed that the star and crescent agree well with its place in the Parthian series, those of Arsaces XIV. bearing first the crescent, then the star before and crescent behind, whilst the early coins of Arsaces XV. like those of his father and Pacorus, exhibit the star before and crescent behind, and those which follow a star before and star and crescent behind.

On the reverse of these coins, an anchor the symbol of the Seleucidæ appears behind the chair, in which position it occurs only on these coins and the early ones of Arsaces XV.; a monogram which seems to form the letters MOT. also occurs on them.

The other coins of Arsaces XIV., which must have been nearly all struck before those bearing the name of Pacorus, present many varieties, consisting of symbols on the obverse, and monograms on the reverse. As to the symbols, those coins probably his first present none; we then find a crescent, then a star before and crescent behind, and there is one rather perplexing coin bearing an unintelligible inscription which has an eagle behind. The monograms and letters on the reverses seem to denote TA for Tambrace, K Ctesiphon, MOT for Motene, P and PAΓ for Rhagæ, X for Characene, ΠA for Pasargadæ, Λ or ΛO for Laodicea, ΦEK for Ecbatana, ΣT for Syrinx, and EP Heraclea.

ARSACES XV.—PHRAHATES IV.—37, B. C.—4, A. D.

The drachms assigned to this prince, are extremely numerous and exhibit a great number of varieties, nearly all of which there can be little doubt were struck in the Parthian empire during the long and eventful reign of this prince, but it is by no means so certain that they all bear the head of Arsaces XV.; between most of them indeed a sufficiently strong likeness prevails to render it certain that they belong to him, but it cannot fail to strike the accurate observer, that many others bear a totally different portrait, and we must look for some other prince, to whom it is possible to assign them. It may be contended that these coins were struck in a different part of the empire, and therefore like those of Alexander the Great, may present us with totally different portraits, and this may possibly be the case as these doubtful coins all bear a particular monogram, which probably stood for TIΓP or Tigranocerta, and which is not found except in one or two instances on the other coins assigned to Arsaces XV., but the long reign of this king exhibits many

vicissitudes, and for the period of five years we find his throne disputed and twice occupied by the usurper Tiridates, who probably not only coined money but assumed the usual name of Arsaces, and to this prince it is not improbable these uncertain coins belong; they present rather a youthful portrait with short thick beard, large nose, and necklace ornamented with the figure of a seahorse, (which afterwards occurs but in a ruder form on the certain coins of Arsaces XV.,) and a large jewel behind the head; the symbols are a star before the head, and a star and crescent behind.

The other drachms assigned to Arsaces XV. are I think justly appropriated, the earliest bear a star before and crescent behind, and these were probably struck before the usurpation of Tiridates; the next bear a star and crescent before and an eagle with wreath behind, to which probably succeeded those bearing only the eagle with wreath behind, and on a very fine coin of this class, we find an eagle behind the king's chair; the last coins struck by him were probably those two rare varieties, the one bearing the king's head crowned by two victories, and the other the same obverse, with the queen Mousa's head on the reverse, and there is in Mr. Tobin's collection a very rare and perhaps unique coin, bearing the king's head crowned by only one victory; it is extremely rude, and was probably struck in a remote or barbarous part of the empire.

Various monograms occur on the reverses of this prince's drachms, but they do not present as many varieties as those of his predecessors, the only ones which can be interpreted with any degree of certainty, being those of Tambrace, Tigranocerta and Charax.

ARSACES XVI.—PHRAHATACES—4—5, A. D.

No drachms appear which with any degree of probability can be assigned to this prince, whose reign was only of a few months duration; a few of the coins assigned to his father, although apparently struck towards the end of his long reign, exhibit a rather young portrait and may possibly belong to Phrahataces, but the great resemblance of their portraits to those of Phrahates, render it more likely that they belong to the latter, as we may well suppose that amongst the moneyers of that cruel tyrant, flatterers were not wanting. The coins I particularly allude to, are some of those with an eagle behind the king's head

Mr. De Bartholomæi laments, that we have not the aid of tetradrachms to guide us in the appropriation of the drachms which may possibly belong to this king and his

successor. In Num. des Rois Grecs, however (Pl. LXX, No. 4,) a tetradrachm is given which seems to belong to Phrahataces, and will be noticed when we come to treat of the tetradrachms, and if this coin shall be considered as rightly appropriated, we have at least the portrait of this king to guide us.

ARSACES XVII.—ORODES II.—5, A. D.

No coins occur which seem to belong to this king, whose reign was as short as that of his predecessor.

ARSACES XVIII.—VONONES I.—5—13, A. D.

The next class of drachms to be noticed, is that remarkable one bearing on the obverse the king's head bearded with the diadem in a bow, and the legend ΒΑCΙΛЄΤC ONΩNHC ; the reverse differs entirely from that of all the other drachms of the Arsacidæ, having instead of the usual figure sitting and presenting a bow, a figure of victory walking, and the legend ΒΑCΙΛЄΤC ONΩNHC NЄIKHCAC ΑΡΤΑΒΑ-ΝΟΝ ; this coin which was struck on the defeat of Artabanus by Vonones, 760, U. C. or 319 of the era of the Seleucidæ, which was that adopted by the Arsacidæ, not only illustrates an important historical event, but contributes much to the more certain appropriation of other Parthian coins ; it exhibits the diadem in a bow and the square Β., both of which peculiarities are found on all the subsequent drachms of these princes.

No other varieties of the drachms of this prince are known, that noticed by Mr. de Bartholomæi with ΒΑCΙΛЄΩC . ΒΑCΙΛЄΩN . is as that writer justly observes, a double struck coin.

ARSACES XIX.—ARTABANUS III.—13—42, A. D.

Thus far the drachms of the Arsacidæ may with one or two exceptions be appropriated with a degree of probability nearly approaching to certainty ; those which follow although deriving some illustration from the tetradrachms and small brass, are far more uncertain, the same legend differing only in degrees of rudeness, being found with very few exceptions on them all ; the order in which they follow one another may however in general be ascertained, and this will enable us with some degree of success to attempt assigning them to their proper princes.

M. Lenormant in his work, p. 3, says the most numerous suite of drachms seems to answer to the period which does not furnish tetradrachms, that is the first thirteen reigns; the drachms struck afterwards are too barbarous he says, to enable us to give them a certain attribution. The same author adds, p. 27, "The drachms in which we perceive a passable work, were not struck after the reign of Phrahates IV.; those of Vonones I. and Goterzes are the only exceptions; and the pieces given to the latter Arsacidæ only because they are of barbarous work, often appear to me only rude imitations of Greek work executed at good periods, but in towns where the culture of the Grecian arts had imperfectly penetrated."

On these opinions Mr. De Bartholomæi makes the following very just observations.

1st. That the Parthian drachms of barbarous fabric, cannot be considered as of epochs anterior to the reign of Arsces XV., the particular form of the letters ϐ or ϐ for B,—Ɛ or C for Σ,—+ for Φ,—□ for O,— ⊦ or ∈ for E,—and V for T, which we find on almost all these drachms, mark an epoch posterior to the reign of Orodes.*

2nd. That we look in vain on the coins of the first thirteen Arsacidæ, for the prototypes of these barbarous coins.

3rd. That these barbarous drachms cannot be attributed exclusively to the epochs of Orodes or Phrahates his son, from which it results that they belong to a suite of different kings.

With these observations of Mr. De Bartholomæi I perfectly coincide, wondering indeed how so able a numismatist could have fallen into such a mistake, for I consider that however, we may differ as to the appropriation of particular classes of coins to particular princes, the order in which all classes of the drachms follow each other, is nearly as easy to be traced as those of the tetradrachms on which we have for the most part dates to guide us.

The first class of drachms which present themselves after those of Vonones, is a rather numerous one, bearing a very singular head, the age of which it is not easy to determine; the face is long and apparently at least of a middle age, with long flowing hair and a sharp pointed beard; the reverse is the usual one, but the letters are so very similar to those on the later drachms of Arsaces XV., that we are almost inclined to consider them as belonging to Arsaces XVII. the portrait being too old for Arsaces XVI., but as I think I can shew that all the subsequent drachms belong

* Some of these letters as Ɛ + V sometimes occur on coins anterior to the reign of Orodes.

to Arsaces XX. and his successors, it is far more likely that these coins which are rather numerous, belong to Arsaces XIX. who reigned more than twenty-five years, than to Arsaces XVII., who reigned only a few months.

A rare variety of this king's drachms is given by Mr. De Bartholomæi in his Pl. V., No. 78, and it differs from those I have noticed in having a crescent before the king's face

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ARSACES XX.—BARDANES—42—45, A. D.

No certain drachms have been hitherto assigned to this king, which Mr. De Bartholomæi endeavours to account for, by supposing that after the first insurrection of Goterzes when the two princes divided the kingdom, Goterzes having received Hyrcania and the northern provinces of Parthia, there struck the drachms with his portrait, whilst at the same time the tetradrachms with the portrait of Bardanes, were struck in the western provinces.

There is no doubt, but the greater portion of the Parthian tetradrachms were struck in the Grecian or western provinces, whilst the drachms were for the most part struck in the northern or eastern, but this will scarce account for the non-appearance of drachms of Bardanes, as we have not only tetradrachms of Goterzes, but they are far more numerous than those of Bardanes, and we must look amongst the uncertain drachms of this epoch, for coins likely to belong to the latter.

The drachms of the first nineteen princes I have already noticed, and there is not one of the coins I have assigned to them which could by any possibility belong to Bardanes; an examination of the drachms of the seven last princes, (from the 24th to the 30th, both inclusive), will when we come to treat of these coins equally satisfy us, that no class of them could belong to an earlier period than that of the 24th Arsaces, we must therefore look for the coins of Bardanes amongst those belonging to the period intermediate between the two epochs I have just alluded to.

The numerous drachms of Goterzes are from the occurrence of his name on one or two specimens, indisputably ascertained, others have been assigned to Arsaces XXII. and XXIII., from the resemblance of their portraits to those of the well known tetradrachms of these princes, and almost the only class which will remain is that rather scarce one which I have given in Pl. 3, No. 66, of this work, and as it bears some resemblance as to portrait to the tetradrachms of Bardanes, and the letters composing its legend, agree well with the period assigned to his reign, I have but

little hesitation in assigning it to this prince. Mr. De Bartholomæi gives a coin No. 113 of his plates, which resembles that I am now noticing, and which that learned writer assigns to Arsaces XXIII., considering it as the same coin appropriated by M. Longperier to that prince, but that of M. Longperier and those similar which I have assigned to that prince, are certainly of a different reign from the coin given by Mr. De Bartholomæi, and far more likely to belong to Arsaces XXIII. than the coin we are considering.

A small silver coin probably a hemidrachm is given by Mr. De Bartholomæi, and assigned by him to Bardanes and Goterzes, it bears a portrait on each side, but the legend is unfortunately wanting, however the portraits certainly bear some resemblance to those of the two kings to whom Mr. De Bartholomæi has given it, and I am strongly inclined to agree with him in his appropriation.

ARSACES XXI.—GOTERZES—45—51, A. D.

The discovery of a coin bearing the name of Goterzes, has enabled us to assign to this king with complete certainty, a class of drachms the most numerous in the Parthian series.

On the first specimen discovered, (now in the French cabinet), the inscription being imperfect, was not very easy to be ascertained, but another on which the legend was more fully and clearly exhibited has been since discovered, and on it we read ΓωΤЄΡΖΗΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛЄ . . . ΒΑΣΙΛЄΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΥΟC . ΚЄΚΑΛΥΑCΝΟC . ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ ., a corrupted legend, the last three words intended for ΥΙΟΣ. ΚΕΚΛΗΜΕΝΟΣ . ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΥ ., "the called or adopted son of Artabanus;" this last specimen is in the Imperial Museum at Petersburgh, and I have not heard of a third.

The other drachms which from their complete resemblance as to portrait to those I have just described, have been assigned to this king, are extremely numerous and exhibit the usual legend; the letter N occurs on the obverse of a few specimens.

The ordinary legends on the drachms of Goterzes and subsequent princes, are as Mr. De Bartholomæi has justly observed full of defects, and that learned writer has remarked on them a singular resemblance between the name of the king and that of the principal country over which he ruled, and where the greater portion of the drachms were struck. These legends he says, generally commence with the words □ACIAЄ□C . □ΛCIA⊢AN . ΑΡΙΑΝ□V ., which illustrate the commencement of

the inscription at *Nakshi Roustam* figured in the work of Silvestre de Sacy, Pl. 1, B., No. 3, ΒΑCΙΛЄΩC . ΒΑCΙΛЄΩN . ΑΡΙΑΝΩN, &c., and it is truly strange (he continues), that under the later Arsacidæ they should have through ignorance caused a resemblance between the name of the reigning dynasty and that of the country subjected to their sway, but the name ΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ is identical in its form with that of ΑΡΙΑΝΩN, in these barbarous legends, the change of Κ into Ν has place only in the name of *Arsaces*, for in the word ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ the same letter is almost always replaced by +, which is also substituted for the letter Ν in ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.

To these remarks I may add, that on the coins which I agree with Mr. De Bartholomæi in assigning to Arsaces XXII., the successor of Goterzes, the king's name is spelled ΝΙΙΑΝ□, and as these coins from their barbarous appearance do not seem to have been struck in Ariana, but rather in the western provinces, and probably at Ninus, where most of the rude drachms of this period appear from their initial to have been minted, it is not unlikely that the word ΝΙΙΑΝ□, may have been adopted in imitation of, and on the same principle as that of ΑΙΙΑΝ□, and both legends although originally caused by a corruption in the form of the letters, from their casual resemblance to the name of the province finally adopted as a kind of surname in place of the usual one Arsaces.

MEHERDATES—49 OR 50, A.D.

The drachmas assigned to this young prince, present a full face with a large rose or star at each side, and their attribution to Meherdates seems to have been adopted rather from their youthful portrait and the letters of their legends corresponding with this era of Parthian history, than from any evidence of a more decisive character.

This attribution I am satisfied to adopt, and I think I can even add to these reasons for doing so, by referring to the small brass coins, evidently from their portraits belonging to the same prince, and which bear for reverse a youth standing under an arch, and bearing in his hand an eagle the symbol of the Romans, by whom the claims of this young prince to the Parthian throne were supported.

These drachms some of which are of rather fine work, whilst others are extremely rude, are not of common occurrence.

Mr. De Bartholomæi has published (No. 99 of his work), a coin which he thinks belongs to Meherdates, it bears a youthful side faced portrait with a round

ornamented tiara, but this drachm which is not of uncommon occurrence, unquestionably belongs to a period at least fifty years later than that of Meherdates, and probably to Parthamaspates with whose age it will agree as well as with that of Meherdates; the same coin has been published by M. Longperier, (Revue Num. Pl. XII., No. 10), and that writer also considers it to be of a far later period, as he compares the tiara with that of the Sassanian king, Artachetr.

ARSACES XXII.—VONONES—II.—51, A. D.

A class of coins occurs which seems to belong to this period, they are rather rude and bear the king's hair curled like a wig as on the earlier Parthian coins, and for the most part behind the king's head, a letter or character which I believe has never been interpreted.

These coins I had always considered to belong to Arsaces XXII. or Arsaces XXIII., but the opinion of Mr. De Bartholomæi, has decided me in my attributing them to the former.

"The portrait he says, differs from all those of the Parthian kings hitherto known, the age also seems to agree with that of Vonones, for that king after a very short reign, left a son of age to succeed to the throne, finally the barbarity of the type as well as legend, seems to agree well with the epoch of Arsaces XXII."

To these reasons I may add, that the rudeness of these coins and the fashion of the king's hair, would induce a supposition that they were not minted in Ariana, but in some of the north-western provinces, probably Media, of which Vonones was king prior to his being called to the Parthian throne, and the occurrence of a tetradrachm which from its date, undoubtedly belongs to this king, and which bears a portrait very like that on some of these coins, appears to me an additional reason for assigning them to Arsaces XXII.

A few of these coins want the unknown character behind the head, and are of much better work; these latter are very rare, but the others are of not uncommon occurrence.

ARSACES XXIII.—VOLOGESES I.—51—62, A. D.

The drachms of this prince are considered very rare by Mr. De Bartholomæi, probably from his assigning to him the coins only which I have considered more

likely to belong to Arsaces XX., and classing amongst the doubtful coins of this series, the short round bearded coins which are much more numerous, and which M. Longperier has assigned, and I think properly to Arsaces XXIII.

I have in treating of the drachms of Arsaces XX., appropriated to him those coins which I have just noticed, as being assigned by Mr. De Bartholomæi to Arsaces XXIII., and I shall now offer reasons for agreeing with M. Longperier in assigning to the latter prince, those short and round bearded coins which are rather numerous, and appear to belong to a later prince.

In the first place, the age of the portrait agrees with no prince of this period of Parthian history, except Vologeses 1. and Meherdates; but those I have assigned to Meherdates are rare, as may be expected from the short reign of that prince, whilst the young side faced coins with short and round beard are numerous, and appear to belong to a prince who like Vologeses I. had reigned many years.

In the next place, these drachms bear a considerable resemblance as to portrait, to the tetradrachms of Vologeses I., although that of the latter generally appears older, most of the tetradrachms being struck towards the latter part of his reign, whilst the drachms were probably for the most part struck at the commencement; and lastly the legends correspond precisely with the period of the accession of this prince, and resemble in character those on the coins of Vonones his father and predecessor, and those of Meherdates from whose reign they are separated by a period of scarcely more than a year; some of these coins are well executed and of fine silver, whilst others are both rude and base, and most of the latter bear as the initial of the place of mintage, a large N probably for Ninus, where and in other towns of the western provinces, the rudest coins of this series appear to have been struck.

ARSACES XXIV.—ARTABANUS IV.—62—77, A. D.

To M. Longperier we are indebted for the discovery of a new reign in the Parthian series, under the name of Artabanus IV., and occupying the place of 24th Arsaces.

This prince was a younger brother of Vologeses I., and was first noticed as such by Zonaras, (B. XI. 87), who calls him Artabanus, and mentions that the Pseudo-Nero took refuge with him. Vaillant, (p. 291), however considered Zonaras's opinion as ill founded, and his view of the matter was followed by Richter and Tychsen, who all supposing Vologeses to be the Parthian king, with whom the

Pseudo-Nero, Terentius Maximus took refuge, extend the reign of that prince to 90, A. D., but this error was first noticed by Visconti, and afterwards M. Longperier by the discovery of other authorities has confirmed the accuracy of Zonaras.

As however this arrangement is opposed to the opinions of so many eminent writers, it will be right to lay before the reader, the evidence by which M. Longperier has arrived at this important discovery.

Besides the testimony of Zonaras, M. Longperier has adduced that of Persian authors, particularly Firdousi, who has placed after *Palasch*, which is the Persian name of Vologeses, a king named *Erdewan*, whom we can at once recognise to be Artabanus. The coins themselves also supply us with evidence strongly corroborative of this arrangement, for on a coin with the date 374, we find a portrait different from and much younger than that which appears on the coins bearing the dates from 364 to 369, it is evident therefore, that the former must belong to a different prince, and cannot belong to Pacorus, whose portrait accompanied by the date 389 is still younger, and moreover bears his peculiar name Pacorus.

To these unanswerable reasons of M. Longperier, I may add that in my own cabinet, is a tetradrachm with date 388, which exhibits the head of the same prince as that with date 374, but with much older features, and which nearly separates this reign from that of Pacorus, and confirms in a still stronger manner the arrangement of M. Longperier, and I may also observe, that the prince who received the Pseudo-Nero could neither have been Vologeses nor Artabanus but Pacorus, within whose reign the year 402 or 90, A. D. falls, and which Vaillant could not have failed to discover, had not his erroneous system of Parthian chronology differed fifty-seven years from the true one.

Having thus established the position in the Parthian series of a prince whose existence was so long unknown, the task of pointing out the coins which belong to him will be found an easy one, as we find occurring in this part of the series a very numerous class of drachms, which it is nearly impossible to assign to any other prince, and a large number of coins formerly considered uncertain, is now satisfactorily appropriated.

The drachms which belong to this king are distinguished by their portrait, which strongly resembles that presented by the tetradrachms, with dates from 374 to 388; the letters are very neat and present some peculiarities which mark their position in the series, and connect them with those which precede and follow them. Those which were struck in the commencement of his reign, bear a young portrait with long and square beard, whilst his later coins bear an older portrait with pointed

beard; the former are rather scarce, but the latter extremely numerous and presenting many varieties, although a strong similarity as to portrait pervades them all; those assigned by M. Longperier and Mr. De Bartholomæi, are of this class and appear rightly appropriated.

ARSACES XXV.—PACORUS—77—108, A. D.

One class only of drachms without the tiara now remains, and one place only to be filled before we come to the coins of Arsaces XXVI., whose coins as well as those of his four successors with only a few remarkable exceptions,* bear the tiara, we may therefore fairly conclude that this class must belong to Arsaces XXV., we have however, additional and important evidence in the portraits, particularly that without beard, which exactly resembles that found on the tetradrachms of Pacorus, and in the letters of the legend which seem to place these between those I have assigned to Arsaces XXIV. and those which bear the tiara, there are indeed two peculiarities most remarkable on them, the first being the form of the letter Γ in ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ., the upper limb of which appears elongated and has a dot under it, which peculiarity we observe on the subsequent coins which I have assigned to Parthamaspates and Arsaces XXVII., and the second a stroke or bar, and on a few coins, a kind of seat under the king, which occurs on all the very numerous and later coins of this king, and also on those of Parthamaspates who was by Trajan put in possession of the Parthian throne a few years after the accession of Chosroes, commonly considered as the 26th Arsaces.

The first coin which occurs of this king, and which is so distinctly separated from those of the last reign, is that remarkable one bearing a youthful and beardless portrait, nearly resembling that on the tetradrachms bearing the name of Pacorus. This coin so evidently belongs to this king, that its appropriation has been almost universally acknowledged.

Two specimens have been published by Mr. De Bartholomæi, one of which copied from one published by M. De Rauch, has been by the latter supposed to exhibit the name ΠΑΚΟΡΟΥ., but I perfectly agree with Mr. De Bartholomæi, that this word seems more likely to be intended for ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, the letters being indistinct and turned backwards, but if M. Rauch has given the legend correctly, I am almost

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* The rare full faced coins of Arsaces XXIX.

inclined to think he may be right; we all however agree in appropriating it to Pacorus. Of this coin but few specimens are known.

The other drachms which I have just assigned to this king, and which there can be little doubt belong to him, bear a head with pointed beard, the portraits being of different ages as we might suppose form the length of a reign of nearly thirty years, but all bearing a considerable resemblance to that unquestionable one which I have just noticed, as belonging to the commencement of this reign.

These coins are in general of very neat execution, and form one of the most numerous classes of the Parthian drachms, and they are the last which bear the diadem only, without the tiara.

ARSACES XXVI.—CHOSROES—108—121, A. D.

Notwithstanding the length of this king's reign, no silver coins* have hitherto been assigned to him. Mr. De Bartholomæi has endeavoured to account for this, by supposing that the revolutions and disastrous wars against Rome had exhausted the pecuniary resources of Parthia, and forced it to have recourse to a base coinage of which we have no scarcity of examples, and some of which appear to have been originally plated with silver; this reason will however scarcely account for the total non-appearance of a silver coinage during a period of twelve or thirteen years, particularly as we find an abundance of drachms in fine silver of Pacorus the predecessor and Vologeses the successor of Chosroes. It may be said indeed that some of those coins which are generally assigned to Arsaces XXIV., XXV. and XXVII. may belong to Arsaces XXVI., but this I think can hardly be the case; the drachms I have assigned to Arsaces XXIV. and XXV., bear as all the tetradrachms of these princes do, the king's head without the tiara, whilst the base coins of Chosroes, and all the coins of his successors bear that head dress; it is therefore amongst the coins with tiara, that we should look for drachms likely to belong to Chosroes, and all these seem to belong exclusively to the four last princes, except that small class which bear a very young head with highly ornamented tiara, and which although probably struck during the reign of Chosroes, appear far more likely to belong to Parthamaspates the young king, who was by Trajan, placed on

* A tetradrachm of this king in base silver occurs in the catalogue of Messrs. Rollin, No. 920, sold in London, July 1849.

the Parthian throne, than to Chosroes whose numerous brass coins present rather an aged portrait, as that of the brother of Pacorus might be supposed to do, we must therefore until some further discovery takes place, consider this reign as presenting a gap in the series of Parthian drachms, nor have we silver coins of any size which seem to belong to him, except a little coin which I shall now notice. This little coin which is a hemidrachm, bears on one side a rather old portrait somewhat like that on the brass coins of this prince, and on the reverse a female head with turreted crown, and even without any other evidence, I should have been inclined to attribute this coin to Chosroes, but we are fortunately supplied with stronger and more decisive evidence, by the occurrence of a brass coin with similar head and similar reverse, and of whose appropriation to Chosroes, the date ΑΥ . (430), leaves no doubt.

A specimen of this little coin is in my own cabinet, and the only other I am aware of was in the Welzl collection, (there placed amongst the uncertain Parthian coins), and sold by auction at Vienna, in 1847.

PARTHAMASPATES—115—116, A. D.

No coin has hitherto been attributed to this young prince, whose reign was short and probably confined to those provinces only which had submitted to the Romans. In noticing the coins of Chosroes, I alluded to a small class of drachms which as appearing to be struck in his reign, but not by himself, I suggested might be the coinage of Parthamaspates, and when we consider the youthfulness of the portrait so unlike that of Chosroes, and that the letters of the legend and the ornamented tiara appear exactly to correspond with that position in the Parthian series, I think we may fairly conclude that they were struck by this young prince. Mr. De Bartholomæi attributes these coins to Meherdates, but to me they appear of a far later period, and Mr. Longperier although he does not appropriate them to any particular king, seems to be of this opinion, as he places them even after the coins of Arsaces XXX, and speaks of the tiara as resembling that of the Sassanian Artaxerxes ; but why may not the latter be copied from the coins in question, and the legends certainly appear to be of an earlier character than those of Arsaces XXVII, and later than those of Arsaces XXV.

These coins of which there are several specimens, do not appear to have attracted the attention of any other numismatists but those I have mentioned.

ARSACES XXVII.—VOLOGESES II.—121—148, A. D.

The coins of the four last reigns of the Arsacidæ, appear to present no difficulties as to their attribution, although M. Longperier and Mr. De Bartholomæi have assigned to Arsaces XXVIII., the principal part of those which I consider as belonging to Arsaces XXVII.

The first class which occurs after the coinage of Arsaces XXVI., is that bearing a portrait with a short beard, and round and plain tiara.

These coins and these only, are attributed by M. Longperier to Arsaces XXVII., but there is a much more numerous class differing but little from the last except in the length of the beard, which I have little doubt should be assigned to the same prince; we find on them the same plain tiara, the same features only in some instances of a more advanced age, and on some a more perfect form of legend as on those of the first class, whilst on those which I assign to his successor Arsaces XXVIII., we observe the tiara divided by a longitudinal line, the king's features different from those on the former classes, and more resembling those on the tetradrachms of Arsaces XXVIII. and the legends still more rude and irregular, and if to these distinctions, we add that the arrangement of M. Longperier and Mr. De Bartholomæi would give but a very few drachms to Arsaces XXVII., whilst those they leave with Arsaces XXVIII., would be at least twenty times as numerous, and that the length of the reign of the former was about twenty eight years, and that of the latter forty three, we must admit the division I have adopted, which would give nearly as many to each to be far more probable.

The earliest drachms of this prince, (those with short beard), exhibit the legend regular and like that of his predecessors. On the earliest of those with long beard, we also observe a regular legend, but the first line corresponding with the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, is in a character quite different from that of the Parthian Greek, and which none of my correspondents skilled in the Oriental languages have been able to interpret, the later and ruder coins of this king, also retain traces of this singular character, but that and the Greek letters which follow, are extremely barbarous.

The drachms of this king with short beard are extremely rare, those with long beard and regular legend are also rare, but those with rude and barbarous legends very common.

ARSACES XXVIII.—VOLOGESES III.—148—192, A.D.

I have already attempted to distinguish the drachms which I assign to Arsaces XXVIII. from those of his predecessor; they are in general much ruder and the legends more barbarous than those I have given to Arsaces XXVII., the portraits also are different, but the most prominent point by which they are distinguished, is the longitudinal stroke on the side of the tiara, as on the tetradrachms of Arsaces XXVIII.

To this reign may I think also be appropriated a tetrobolus or two thirds of the drachm now in my collection, and which is perhaps unique; it bears a head strongly resembling both in features and in the attire of the hair, those on the tetradrachms of this prince, and on the reverse a female figure sitting with her right hand raised, as on the small brass coins, with a palm branch in the field, the remains of a letter which seems to be A, appear on the obverse, but no legend on the reverse. It was purchased at the sale of the late Bishop of Lichfield.

ARSACES XXIX.—VOLOGESES IV.—192—209, A.D.

There now remain two distinct classes of drachms to be disposed of; they are evidently the last of the series, and naturally should be assigned to Arsaces XXIX. and XXX., but we have further and stronger evidence to exhibit in support of such appropriation.

To place this evidence before the reader in the strongest point of view, I cannot do better than to transcribe what M. Longperier and I have written relative to the appropriation of the first of these classes of coins, at a time when neither of us had seen the observations of the other.

In the first MS. I wrote on the subject, the following remarks appear:—

"These rare and remarkable coins, some of which occur in fine and some in base silver, exhibit a full face with large lappets at each side of the head, the obverse is neat, but the reverse is still ruder than any of the preceding; we should however experience considerable difficulty in classing them, but for the base tetradrachms which from their dates are known to belong to Arsaces XXIX., and which exhibit the same lappets at the sides of the head; we may therefore I think almost with certainty, assign these coins to Arsaces XXIX."

In M. Longperiers valuable little work on the coins of the eleven last Arsacidæ, we find the following remarks.

"Les Medailles de Phraate III., d'Artaban III., de Meherdate portent une tête de face au lieu d'un profil. La drachme que j'ai placée sous le no. 8., présente la même particularitè, et la nature de sa chevelure disposèe en touffes globuleuses, la forme de la barbe et du bandeau sont tellement semblables á ce que l'on remarque dans le portrait de Vologèse IV., qu' il est impossible de ne pas reconnoître l'identitè des deux effigies malgrè le differènce de position."

To this appropriation Mr. De Bartholomæi has unhesitatingly assented, and has added to the coins of this king, an unique drachm with side faced portrait, and bearing the large tuft on the ear as on the tetradrachms. This learned writer also observes, that these coins prove Visconti was in error, in taking the tufts on the tetradrachms for parts of the ornaments of the tiara, or for earrings.

These full faced drachms of Arsaces XXIX., some of which occur in fine and some in base silver, are as Mr. De Bartholomæi justly observes extremely rare, the side faced one is I believe unique.

ARSACES XXX.—VOLOGESES. V.—209—227, A. D.

The last class of drachms, about which there can be no difference of opinion, the portraits they exhibit being exactly similar to those on the tetradrachms of Arsaces XXX., present a few varieties, consisting of the letters behind the king's head, which perhaps are the initials of the towns or provinces where they were struck, the monogram under the bow being for many reigns always that of Tambrace the ancient capital, and perhaps on the rude reverses of the four last reigns copied by ignorant artists as ornaments; the characters however, behind this king's head and those similarly placed on the drachms I have assigned to Arsaces XXIII., have not I believe ever been interpreted.

These drachms are common and of fine silver.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

OF THE

DRACHMS AND SMALLER SILVER COINS OF THE ARSACIDÆ.

R, denotes Rarity—1, in the lowest—8, in the highest degree—U, Unique.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	R.	REFERENCE
1	Arsaces II.	Kings head with rude leather cap and diadem, sometimes ornamented with pearls.	ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . Figure sitting on a cortina and presenting a bow.	7	Pl. 1, No. 1.
2	....	Same head with cap and diadem, ornamented pearls.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. Same type.	4	—Nos. 2 & 3
3	— II & III (Obolus.)	ΒΑΣΙΛΕ..ΜΕΓΑΛ....ΑΚ . Same head, &c. to its left.	Head with diadem and pointed beard to its left. No legend.	U	— No. 4.
4	—— III.	Bearded head with diadem to its right.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. Figure sitting on a cortina, and presenting a bow.	4	—Nos. 5 & 6
5	—— IV.	Do.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Same type,	6	— No. 7.
6	....	Do. ΤΑΜ behind the head.	Same legend, but lines between the words. Same type.	7	— No. 8.
7	....	Do. ΤΑΜΒ. do.	Same legend without lines. Same type.	8	Sest. Cl. Gen —— p. 160.
8	....	Do. without legend.	Same legend. ΡΑΓ. in the exergue. Same type.	8	Pl. 1, No. 9.
9	....	Do. ΔΡ. in monogram behind the head.	Same legend. Figure sitting on cortina without bow.	8	— No. 10.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	R.	REFERENCE
10	Arsaces V.	Bearded head with diadem and curled hair.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ✝ΙΛΑΔΕΛ✝ΟΥ . Type as last but one.	8	Pl. 1, No. 11
11	....	Same head, PA . in monogram.	Same legend and type.	8	— No. 12.
12	— VI.	Young head with diadem.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ. Same type.	4	— No. 13.
13	....	Do. older head.	Do.	4	— No. 14.
14	....	Do. 2 monograms.	Do. a monogram.	6	— No. 15.
15	....	Do. Same head.	Same legend. Same figure sitting on a chair.	6	— No. 16.
16	....	Do.	Do. ⏃ behind chair.	6	Author.
17	....	Do. old head.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ. Same type.	1	— No. 17.
18	....	Do. with tiara, ornamented with star and crescents.	Do.	5	— No. 18.
19	....	Do. with tiara, ornamented with star only.	Do.	2	— No. 19.
20	....	Do. rude.	Do. Legend very rude. ΑΠΙ✝ΑΙΝΟΥΣ.	8	Author.
21	....	Bearded head with diadem to its left.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . Jupiter with eagle sitting, ΧΑΡ in monogram under.	8	Pl. 1, No. 21.
22	....	Head as No. 19.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . Type as No. 19.	8	— No. 20.
23	....	Do.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . Pegasus.	8	— No. 22.
24	— VII.	Middle aged head with diadem only.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . Figure sitting presenting a bow.	4	— No. 23.
25	....	Do. portrait older and smaller.	Do.	6	— No. 24.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	R.	REFERENCE
26	Arsaces VII.	Do.	Do. ΓΟΡΟΥ. ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ.	8	M. Lenormant And Mr. De Bartholomæi.
27	....	Do.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. Same type.	8	Vaillant, p. 82.
28	— VIII.	Bearded head with tiara ornamented with star.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ. +ΙΑΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Same type.	8	Sestini, Cl. gen. p. 160.
29	....	Do.	Do. with +ΙΑΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ. Between the two last words.	1	Pl. 2, No. 25.
30	....	Do. larger bust with large acquiline nose.	Do.	1	—Nos. 26,27
31	— IX.	Head with pointed beard and tiara externally ornamented, and horn on the side.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ. ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Same type.	4	—No. 28.
32	....	Do. larger bust and nose more hooked.	Do.	2	—No. 29.
33	....	Do. older head.	Do. but ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.	3	—No. 30.
34	— X.	Younger headwith similar tiara.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. (turned outwards) ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ. ΚΑΙ. +ΙΑΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. ⅄ over the bow. Same type.	3	—No. 31.
35	....	Do.	Same legend, ΓΓ over the bow. Same type.	3	Author.
36	....	Do.	Same legend, ΓΠ before. Same type.	8	Payne Knight p. 197.
37	....	Do. older head.	Same legend, but ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. turned inwards. ΜΙ under the bow. Same type.	1	Pl. 2, No. 32

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	R.	REFERENCE
38	Arsaces X.	Do.	Same legend. Ⱦ under the bow. Same type.	1	Pl. 2, No. 33.
39	....	Do.	Same legend. Ⱦ under the bow. Same type.	1	— No. 34.
40	....	Do.	Same legend. ΓΛΣ . (233) under the bow. Same type.	U	— No. 35.
41	....	Do. Anchor behind; tiara externally ornamented with pearls	Do. without date.	8	— No. 36.
42	....	Large old head with diadem, but without tiara.	Do. Ⱦ under the bow	6	— No. 37.
43	— XI.	Head slightly bearded, full face.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ✝ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΚΑΙ ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . MO under the bow. Same type.	4	— No. 38.
44	....	Do. side face.	Same legend and type.	6	— No. 39.
45	....	Do. without beard.	Do. IK under the bow	8	Mr. De Bartholomæi. —Pl. 4, No. 46.
46	— XII.	Head slightly bearded with diadem and curled hair.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΚΑΙ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . M under the bow. Same type.	3	—Pl. 2, No. 40.
47	....	Do.	Same legend without ΚΑΙ. Ⱦ under the bow. B behind figure, Same type.	3	— No. 41.
48	....	Do.	Same legend, but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . instead of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . K under the bow. Same type.	3	— No. 42.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE	R.	REFERENCE
49	Arsaces XII.	Do. older head.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . Ε↟ under the bow. Same type.	3	Vaillant p. 96* Green.†
50	....	Do. but rather rude.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ · ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΚΑΙ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . Ε↟ under the bow. Same type but small.	U	Lieut. Col. Moore.
51	— XIII.	Young head without beard, with diadem and curled hair. Slender bust.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . +ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . Same type and monogram.	8	Pl. 2, No. 43
52	— XIV.	Head slightly bearded, with diadem.	Same legend, but ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . instead of +ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ⋀ under the bow. Same type.	1	— No. 44.
53	....	Do.	Do. ⋀ under the bow.	1	Author.
54	....	Do.	Do. Ε↟ do.	2	do.
55	....	Do.	Do. P do. Œ over.	3	do.
56	....	Do.	Do. ⋀ do. ⋀ over.	3	do.
57	....	Do. crescent behind.	Do. Ꝑ under ∈ over.	3	Pl. 2, No. 45.
58	....	Do. do.	Do. K under, O behind chair.	3	Author.
59	....	Do. do.	Do. ⋀ under.	1	do.
60	....	Do. do.	Do. rude legend, K under.	4	do.
61	....	Do. do.	Do. ⋀ under.	1	do.
62	....	Do. do.	Do. Ε↟ under.	2	do.
63	....	Do. star before, crescent behind.	Do. Λ do.	1	do.

* Two others published by Vaillant, pp. 48, 58, but the legends seem incorrectly given.

† Green's has a star behind the head.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	R.	REFERENCE
64	Arsaces XIV.	Do.	Do. rude legend Π do.	4	Author.
65	....	Do.	Do. Λ over the bow.	1	do.
66	....	Do.	Do. ⊟ under.	2	do.
67	....	Do.	Do. X over, ✣ under.	4	do.
68	....	Do.	Do. ⩕ under.	2	do.
69	....	Do.	Do. ⩙ over, ⊕ under.	4	Pl.2, No. 46.
70	....	Do.	Do. ⋔	1	— No. 47.
71	....	Do.	Do. do. letters rude and unintelligible.	1	Author.
72	Arsaces XIV., and Pacorus.	Do.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ✣ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΠΑΚΟΡΥ . The three last words very rude. ⋔ under the bow. Anchor behind the chair. Same type.	2	Pl.3, No. 49.
73	....	Do. eagle with wreath behind.	Do. but legend less intelligible.	7	— No. 50.
74	Arsaces XIV., or XV.? (obolus.)	Head slightly bearded with diadem.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ⩕ under the bow. Same type.	8	Pl.2, No. 48.
75	Arsaces XV.	Head slightly bearded with diadem and curled hair, star before and crescent behind.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✣ΑΝΟΥΣ . ✣ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . ⊓ under the bow. Same type.	1	Pl.3, No. 51.
76	....	Do. ornament of a sea horse on the neck.	Do.	1	Author.
77	....	Do. star before, star and crescent behind. Same ornament.	Do. anchor behind the chair.	1	Pl. 3, No. 52
78	....	Do.	Do. ⩔ under the bow.	1	— No. 54.
79	....	Do.	Do. do. Anchor surmounted by a trident.	1	— No. 53.
80	....	Same head, Eagle with wreath behind.	Same legend, Same type without anchor, ⩔ under the bow.	1	— No. 55.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	R.	REFERENCE
81	Arsaces XV.	Do.	Do. but ⅄ under.	2	Author.
82	....	Do. but eagle very large	Do.	3	Pl. 3, No. 56.
83	....	Do. as No. 81.	Do. ⅄ under.	3	Author.
84	....	Do.	Do. ⅄ under.	4	— No. 57.
85	....	Do. a large star before.	Do. ⅄ under, star behind the chair.	8	Author.
86	....	Do. as No. 84.	Do. same monogram, eagle behind the chair.	8	— No. 58.
87	....	Same head, Star and crescent before, eagle behind.	Do. without eagle.	1	— No. 59.
88	....	Rude head, Star and crescent before, Victory behind.	Do. very rude.	U	— No. 60.
89	....	Usual head crowned by two Victories.	Do. as No. 87.	5	— No. 61.
90	Arsaces XV., and Mousa	Do.	ΜΟΥΣΗΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗ . ΘΕΑΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑΣ . Head of Queen Mousa.	8	Mr. De Bartholomæi. Pl. 5, No. 73
91	....	Do.	Do. ⅄ before the head.	7	Pl. 3, No. 62
92	....	Do.	Do, ⅄ legend rude	8	— No. 63.
93	Arsaces XVIII.	Bearded head with diadem in a bow. ΒΑCΙΛЄΥC . ΟΝΩΝΗC .	ΒΑCΙΛЄΥC . ΟΝΩΝΗC . ΝЄΙΚΗCΑC . ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΝ . Victory walking, ⅄ before.	6	Pl. 3, No. 64
94	— XIX.	Head with pointed beard and diadem in a bow.	Legend and type as on usual coins of Arsaces XV. ⅄ under the bow.	3	— No. 65.
95	....	Do. crescent before.	Do. legend defaced. Є under the bow.	8	Mr. De Bartholomæi. Pl. 5, No. 78
96	— XX.	Young head with short beard and hair curling. diadem in a bow.	Do. ⅄ under.	6	Pl. 3, No. 66
97	— XX. & XXI. (Hemidrachm.)	Head of Arsaces XX.	No legend. Head of Arsaces XXI.	U	Mr. De Bartholomæi. Pl. 6, No. 82
98	— XXI.	Bearded head with diadem in a bow.	Legend rude and imperfect, large figure sitting, &c. ⅄ under the bow.	8	— No. 67.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	R.	REFERENCE
99	Arsaces XXI.	Bearded head with straight hair and diadem in a bow.	Usual legend and type. Ⱥ under the bow.	1	Pl. 3, No. 68
100	....	Do. N before the head.	Do.	8	— No. 69.
101	....	Same head with hair curled.	Do.	1	Author.
102	....	Do.	ΓΩΤЄPZH . ▯ACAIЄ : ▯A-CAIЄΩN . APCANO . ⱯOC . KCKΛΛⱯΛЄNDC . APTΛ▯A-NOY. Same type & monogram.	8	Pl. 3, No. 70.
103	Meherdates.	Full face without beard, a rose or star at each side.	Usual legend, type & monogram.	7	— No. 71.
104	....	Do. rude.	Do. rude.	8	— No. 72.
105	Arsaces XXII.	Bearded head with diadem and curled hair.	Do. very neat.	6	Pl. 4, No. 73
106	....	Do. unknown characters behind the head.	Do. rude.	3	— No. 74.
107	— XXIII.	Head with short round beard, hair curling, and diadem in a bow with 5 strings.	Do. neat and regular.	5	— No. 75.
108	....	Do., with 3 or 4 strings to the diadem.	Legend rude and unintelligible. Same type but rude. N under the bow.	4	—Nos. 76, 77
109	— XXIV.	Young head, with long straight beard, hair straight, and diadem in a bow.	Usual legend, type, and monogram.	4	— No. 78.
110	....	Older head, with pointed beard and hair curling.	Do.	1	—Nos. 79, 80
111	....	Do.	Do. anchor behind the chair.	8	Mr. De Bartholomæi
112	— XXV.	Young head without beard, hair curling.	Do. without anchor.	7	Pl. 4, No. 81.
113	....	Older head with pointed beard.	Do.	1	—Nos. 82, 83
114	Parthamaspates.	Young head slightly bearded, with round ornamented tiara.	Do.	7	— No. 84.
115	Arsaces XXVI. Hemidrachm.	Old head, with rows of curls and tiara.	No legend. Female head to its left.	8	— No. 85.
116	— XXVII	Head with short beard and plain round tiara.	Usual legend. Usual type and monogram.	7	— No. 86.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	R.	REFERENCE.
117	Arsaces XXVII.	Do. but long beard.	Do. but the first line of the legend in unknown characters.	4	Pl. 4, No. 87
118	....	Do.	Do., but legend very rude.	1	— No. 88.
119	—XXVIII	Young head with pointed beard, and tiara with a stroke under the side.	Do. do.	2	— No. 89.
120	....	Do. older head.	Do. do.	1	— No. 90.
121	.... Tetrobolus.	Do. with long lappets and A before.	No legend. Female sitting with right hand raised, a palm branch before.	U	— No. 91.
122	Arsaces XXIX.	Head with pointed beard and ornamented tiara, large lappet over the ear.	Usual legend and type very rude.	U	— No. 92.
123	....	Head with long beard, full face with lappets at each side and over the head.	Do.	7	— No. 93.
124	.... Base Silver.	Do. ruder.	Do.	7	Author.
125	Arsaces XXX.	Head, side face with pointed beard and tiara with stroke on the side. 𐡉𐡀 behind.	Do.	1	Pl. 4, No. 94
126	....	Do. 𐡆𐡃 behind.	Do.	5	— No. 95.
127	....	Do. 𐡅𐡀 behind.	Do.	5	— No. 96.

PARTHIAN TETRADRACHMS.

We now proceed to consider the Tetradrachms or large silver coinage of the Parthian Princes, which although commencing at a far later period than the drachms, form a numerous and varied series, and from the dates which occur on the greater portion of them are extremely interesting and useful in determining the chronology of the respective reigns. A tetradrachm of which only three or four specimens are I believe known, has been assigned, and I think rightly to Arsaces VI.; it bears the king's head regarding its left, reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ., Hercules naked, standing with club in left hand and cantharus in right, and the letter ΓΟΡ, (which we have before noticed on the drachms) in the exergue; others bear ✝ΙΑΤΑ and ✝ΑΡ . in monogram respectively, but without ΓΟΡ, letters which for a long time were considered as a date, and on which I have already made some observations when treating of the drachms of Arsaces VI.

From Arsaces VI. to Arsaces XIV., no tetradrachms appear.

Those of Arsaces XIV., which are rather scarce, bear the king's portrait with diadem and curled hair, and on the reverse, the king sitting to his right hand bearing a Victory, the legend is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ., with sometimes the name of the month, or a portion of it, but no dates.

The tetradrachms of Arsaces XV. are numerous, and present 5 varieties, viz.:—

1. Rev. the king sitting with Victory, as on the tetradrachms of Arsaces XIV., and on the throne, the date ΕΠΣ (285).

2. Rev. Figure with cornucopia, presenting a wreath to the king sitting.

3. Rev. Figure with cornucopia presenting a palm to the king sitting.

4. Same as last, but the figure with helmet and spear instead of cornucopia, and presenting a wreath.

5. The king's head crowned by two Victories, reverse, the king sitting and presenting a bow.

The entire of the 4th, and the greater part of the 2nd and 3rd classes are without dates.

No. 1, has always, and No. 5 generally the date ; they are both very rare ; they all generally bear the name of the month or some portion of it, the coin being in most instances too small for the die, and a specimen of the 4th class differs from all the other tetradrachms of this king, in bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ., and there is another of the 5th class given by Mr. De Bartholomæi, which appears to have the same legend as the last, but wanting the words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, from an irregularity in striking the coin.

A tetradrachm is given in the Num. des Rois Grecs, Pl. 70, No. 4, which seems immediately to follow those of Arsaces XV. ; it bears on the obverse a head younger than, and different from that of the last king, and the word ΒΑCΙΛ . . . , and on the reverse the head of a queen, which from its age would appear to be that of the mother of the prince, whose portrait appears on the obverse, and the legend ΘΕΑC . . . , and there can be little doubt but this rare and interesting coin belongs to Arsaces XVI., and his mother Mousa ; no date appears on it.

The next tetradrachm presents a young head, and on the reverse the figure of Victory presenting a wreath, with a legend nearly defaced, but traces of the usual one found on the tetradrachms of Arsaces XV. appear, and from its type it is highly probable it belongs to Arsaces XVIII., (Vonones I.) ; Mr. De Bartholomæi is of the same opinion, and regrets that the description of this most interesting coin which is engraved in Num. des Rois Grecs, has not yet appeared.

Two tetradrachms now present themselves, which but for the date 334, which appears on one of them it would not be easy to class ; they bear a young head, and on the reverse a figure presenting a palm to the king setting, and underneath a small figure presenting a wreath ; their legends are indistinct, and only a small part appears ; the date which belongs to the middle of the reign of Arsaces XIX., Artabanus III., leads us to suppose that they belong to that prince, but the heads appear so different from those on the other coins of this reign, that we are almost inclined to suspect that they may belong to one of the usurpers, who in this king's reign possessed themselves of the Parthian throne. The portraits bear a considerable resemblance to that I have just assigned to Vonones.

The next tetradrachm bears a head very similar to that on the coins last noticed, but the reverse resembles those of Arsaces XV., which bear a figure with Cornucopia presenting a palm to the king sitting; it seems to bear a date, but not sufficiently legible, and I think must be assigned to Arsaces XIX.

The next tetradrachm is that rare and curious one bearing the king's head, with diadem and full face, and on the reverse a figure presenting a palm to the king on horseback, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ., and the date 338, leaves no doubt of its correct appropriation to Arsaces XIX.

The remaining tetradrachms invariably present us with dates, and less difficulty arises in correctly classing them.

On two tetradrachms bearing very different portraits, the same date 353 occurs, on one an old head which allowing for the difference of position appears like that of the full face bearing the date 338, and on the other a young one similar to that on coins bearing the dates 354, 5 and 7, it is therefore nearly certain that the old head must belong to Arsaces XIX., and the young one to his son and successor Arsaces XX., (Bardanes,) whilst the date 353 is important, as separating the reigns of these two kings.

The date 357 again occurs on a coin bearing a head with longer face, and this coin as well as similar ones, bearing the dates 358, 60, 61 and 62, may be safely assigned to Arsaces XXI., (Goterzes), the date 357 separating the reigns of that prince and of his predecessor Bardanes.

A rare and curious tetradrachm, for which I am indebted to my friend the Rev. Dr. Neligan, next appears, bearing the date 363, and which I have no doubt must be assigned to Arsaces XXII., the portrait differs from those of Arsaces XXI. and XXIII., and it is remarkable for having the bust fronting, although the head is turned towards its right. Three kings appear to have reigned in 363, viz., Arsaces XXI., XXII., and XXIII.

Those bearing the dates 364, 5, 7, 8 and 9, although differing something in portraits, all appear to belong to the same prince, consequently to Arsaces XXIII.

There is a tetradrachm engraved in Num. des Rois Grecs, Pl. LXX., No. 16, which appears to bear the date 368, but the kings head resembles that of Arsaces XXI., and the figures on the reverse are also placed as on the coins of that prince.

To the investigations of M. Longperier, we are indebted for the discovery of a reign between those of Vologeses I. and Pacorus, viz., that of Artabanus IV., who

although recognised by some historians, was not hitherto admitted into the Parthian series. The evidences by which this discovery is supported, have already been adduced in our notices of the drachms of this portion of the series.

The tetradrachms of this prince whose name appears to have been Artabanus IV., and who occupies the 24th place amongst the princes of the Arsacidæ, present several dates from 374 to 388. M. Longperier indeed has only discovered dates from 374 to 379, but conjectures that his reign extended to 389, that being the first date which appears on the tetradrachms bearing the *name* of Pacorus, and that this conjecture was well founded, is placed beyond doubt by a tetradrachm in my cabinet, evidently belonging to this prince, (Artabanus IV.,) and which bears the date 388, whilst one in the British Museum bears 385, and others in Messrs. Stewart and Thomas's cabinets 380, 384 and 386; and the tetradrachm with date 388 is the more valuable, as presenting a portrait, which from its age, is totally different from those of Pacorus, with date 389. These tetradrachms differ from those of Arsaces XXIII., in having the figure presenting a palm instead of a wreath.

The tetradrachms of the next reign being distinguished by the name of Pacorus, leave no doubt of the correctness of their appropriation, but afford little satisfaction as to the length of this prince's reign, the dates being only from 389 to 394; that it commenced in 388 or 389 there can be no doubt, as a coin of the preceding reign appears, as I have just observed with the date 388, but when it terminated is very uncertain, as from 404 to 420 no dates appear on any class of the Parthian coins, and even that of 404 occurs on a coin, the appropriation of which is uncertain.

The only tetradrachm which can be assigned to Arsaces XXVI., (Chosroes) is a base one described in Messrs. Rollins's catalogue, No. 920, and which bears the date 421, and except this specimen, we have no dates on coins of this class from 394 to 433, the former of which belongs unquestionably to Pacorus, and the latter with equal certainty to Arsaces XXVII.

Those of Arsaces XXVII. are easily distinguished, and their dates are from 433 to 460, which nearly mark the extent of this king's reign, as we find the date 430 on the brass coins of his predecessor, and that of 460 on the tetradrachms of his successor. They bear behind the kings head, the letters A . B . Γ . Δ . E. and Θ., by some supposed to be the initials of the cities where the coins were struck, but this I think cannot be the case, as the letters seem to follow one another, and are only the first of the alphabet; neither can they be the years of the king's

reign, as an examination of the descriptive catalogue, and a comparison of these letters with the dates which occur on the same coins will shew, but it is possible they may be intended to mark the coins of different moneyers, or of the different provinces in which they were struck, they are also, as well as those of his successor, distinguished by the name Vologeses or Volagases, as the word is more frequently exhibited on the coins of this prince.

The tetradrachms of Arsaces XXVIII., (Vologeses III.,) are very numerous and present us with dates from 460 to 502, both inclusive, they also bear the name Volagases, but have no other letters but A. and B. behind the king's head.

The tetradrachms of Arsaces XXIX. are distinguished from those of his predecessor and successor, not only by their portraits, but by a large lappet or rosette over the ear, which as before noticed, has afforded the means of appropriating the drachms of this prince ; the dates on his tetradrachms are from 504 to 520, both inclusive, which must have nearly marked the extent of his reign, 502 being found on a coin of his predecessor, and 521 on one of his successor. The legends are extremely rude, and but a small portion of them appears, his name when it appears is spelt Vologases.

The tetradrachms of Arsaces XXX., the last prince of the Parthian series, are still ruder and more unintelligible ; they bear dates from 521 to 539 inclusive, no letter but B. appears on the coins of Arsaces XXIX and XXX.

A tetradrachm noticed by M. Longperier, p. 26, bearing the name Vologeses, and the date 539, proves that these tetradrachms, as well as the drachms assigned to Vologeses V., which bear a similar portrait, belong to the last named prince, and not to Artabanus his brother and partner in the kingdom.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

OF THE

TETRADRACHMS OF THE ARSACIDÆ.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	MONTH.	R.	REFERENCE.
1	Arsaces VI	Bearded head* with diadem to its left.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Hercules naked, standing with club and vase, ΓΟΡ . and monogram.			8	Pl. 5, No. 1.
2	....	Do.	Do., ✝ΙΑΤΑ in monogram, without ΓΟΡ.			U	
3	....	Do.	✝ΑΡ . in monogram without ΓΟΡ .			U	
4	— XIV.	Bearded head, with diadem and curled hair to its right,* collar ornamented with figure of a bird, &c.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.		!!!TE!!	7	Pl. 5, No. 2.
			Figure sitting to its right with Victory.		ΔΑΙ.		Num. Rois. Grecs. Pl.69,No.15. — No. 13.
5	— XV.	Do., with peaked beard.	Do., date on the chair.	285	ΔΑΙΣΙ.	8	Pl. 5, No. 3.
6	....	Do.	Do., Figure with cornucopia, presenting a wreath to the king sitting.		ΑΠΕ.†	2	— No. 4.
7	....	Do.	Do.		ΑΥΔΥΝΑΙ.	‡	Pell. Let. 11. Tab. 1, Fig. 3.
8	....	Do.	Do.		ΠΕΡΙΤΙΟ		Khevenhuler Pl. 1, No. 9.
9	....	Do.	Do.		ΔΥΖΤ.		Num. R. Gr. Pl. 70, No. 3

* As all the side faced heads of the subsequent kings are represented.

† The name of the month is sometimes at full length, but generally expressed by a few of the first letters, but where the spelling of the name of the month was the only difference, I have thought it unnecessary to give more than one example of each month.

‡ I have not thought it necessary to give the rarity of the particular dates or months.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	MONTH.	R.	REFERENCE
10	Arsaces XV.	Do.	Do.		ΔΟΛΟΙΟ.		Pl. 76, No. 2
11	....	Do.	Do.		ΓΟΡΠ.		Green, Num. At.
12	....	Do.	Do.	283			Sestini, T. 1, p. 557.
13	....	Do.	Do.	287	ΑΥΔΥ.		Pellerin, l. c., fig. 1.
14	....	Do.	Do.	291	ΑΥΔΝ.		ditto.
15	....	Do.	Do.	298			Sestini, Col. Ains. T. 2, p. 82.
16	....	Do.	Do.	310	:::ΒΕΡΕΤ		Catalogue, May, 1834.
17	....	Do.	Do., but figure presenting a palm to the king sitting—Crescent.		ΔΙΟΥ.	2	Catalogue, D'Henery, p. 31, No. 20
18	....	Do.	Same type and legend.		ΑΥΔΥ.		Pl. 5, No. 5.
19	....	Do.	Do.		ΠΕΡΙΤ.		Sestini, Col. Ains. p. 65.
20	....	Do.	Do.		ΔΥΣΤ.		ditto.
21	....	Do.	Do.		ΞΑΝ.		British Mus.
22	....	Do.	Do.		ΑΡΤΕ.		Catalogue, D'Henery, p.31,No.206.
23	....	Do.	Do.		ΓΟΡΠ.		Num. R. Gr. Pl. 69, No.18
24	....	Do.	Do.		ΥΠΕΡΒΕ		Sestini, Col. Ains. T. 2, p. 65.
25	....	Do.	Do.	280	ΞΑΝΤΙ.		Do. p. 64.
26	....	Do.	Do.	285	ΥΠΕΡ.		ditto.
27	....	Do.	Do.	286			Pl. 5, No.6.
28	....	Do.	Do.	288	ΠΕΡΙΤΙ.		Sestini, Col. Ains.
29	....	Do.	Do., but figure with helmet and spear, presenting a wreath to the king sitting.			3	Pl. 5, No. 7.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	MONTH.	R.	REFERENCE
30	Arsaces XV.	Do.	Do.		ΓΟΡΠΙ-ΑΙΟ.		Pellerin, Pl. 15.
31	....	Do.	Do.		ΥΠΕΡΒ-ΕΡΕΤΟΥ		Catalogue, D'Henery, p.30, No.204
32	....	Do.	Do.		ΔΑΙ.		p.32, No.208
33	....	Do.	Do.		ΣΟΛΩΙ-ΟΝ.		p.31, No.207
34	....	Do.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ , ΜΕ-ΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑ-ΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕΛ-ΑΗΝΟΣ. Same type.		ΑΡΤΕΜΙ-CI.	8	Pellerin, Pl. 15.
35	....	Do., crowned by two Victories.	Legend as last but one. Figure of the king (supposed Arsaces I.,) sitting and presening a bow.	311	: : ΑΙΠΙ-ΙΥ.	8	Num. R. Gr. Pl.70, No. 1.
36	....	Do.	Do.		ΑΡΤΙΜΙ.		Se tini, Col. Ains. T. 2, p. 65.
37	....	Do., only the Victory before the head apparent.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡ-ΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΔΙΚ-ΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ. Same type.	do.	ΔΙ□Υ.	8	Pl. 5, No. 8.
38	....	Do., as last but one.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚ-ΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . +ΙΛΕ-ΑΛΗΝΟΣ · Same type.	do	ΔΙΟΥ.	8	— No. 9.
39	Unclassed Tetradrachms of this King.	.. .. ..	.. .. ..	275			Sestini, Class. Gen. p. 161.
40		.. .. ..	.. .. ..	276	ΓΟΡΠΙ.		
41		.. .. ..	.. .. ..	278			
42		.. .. ..	.. .. ..	280	ΔΙΟΥ.		
43		.. .. ..	.. .. ..	281	ΥΠΕΡΒ-ΕΡΕΤ.		
44		.. .. ..	.. .. ..	287	ΜΗΝΟΣ-ΑΥΔΥ.		
45	Arsaces XVI. and Mousa.	ΒΑCΙΛ : : : : Head younger than and different from the last.	ΘЄAC : : : : : Head of the Queen with tiara.			8	Pl.5, No.10.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	MONTH.	R.	REFERENCE
46	Arsaces XVIII.	Legend defaced. Head rather young.	Usual legend of Arsaces XIV, &c. Victory presenting a wreath,			8	Pl. 5, No. 11.
47	— XIX.	Young bearded head, date before.	Legend indistinct date. Figure presenting a palm to the king, sitting to his right, a small figure under presenting a wreath. Same type.	334		8	— No. 12.
48	....	Similar head, without date.	ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ behind the figure presenting the palm, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . over, the rest of the legend indistinct. Same type.			7	— No. 13.
49	....	Do.	Usual legend of Arsaces XIV., &c. Figure presenting a palm to the king sitting to his left.	Date indistinct.	ΔΥΣΤ.?	8	Num. de Rois Grecs, Pl. 70, No. 7
50	....	Old head, with diadem, full face.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . Figure presenting a palm to the king on horseback.	338		8	Pl. 5, No. 14
51	....	King's head, side faced, with diadem and curled hair.	Usual legend of Arsaces XIV., &c. Type as last but one.	353	ΣΔΑΦΟΙ-ΟΥ.	8	— No. 15.
52	Arsaces XX.	Younger and different head.	Do.	do.	ΓΟΡΠΙΑ.	5	Sestini, Col. Ains. T. 2, p. 66.
53	....	Do.	Do.	354	ΑΠΕΛΑ.		Brit. Mus.
54	....	Do.	Do.	do.	ΥΠΕΡ-ΒΕΡ.		do.
55	....	Do.	Do.	355			do.
56	....	Do.	Do.	356			Pl. 5, No. 16
57	....	Do.	Do.	357			Longperier, p. 28.
58	Arsaces XXI.	Different head with long face.	Do. but figure presenting a wreath.	do.	ΠΑΝΗ-ΜΟΥ.	2	Pl. 5, No. 17
59	....	Do.	Do.	358	*		Author.
60	....	Do.	Do.	360			Pl. 5, No. 18
61	....	Do.	Do.	361			Author.
62	....	Do.	Do.	362			do.

* One with Hyperberetæus, sold June 20, 1848.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	MONTH.	R.	REFERENCE
63	Arsaces XXII.	Old head with diadem and curled hair turned to its right, but with bust fronting, and a triple necklace, with square ornament in the centre.	Usual legend. Figure presenting a wreath to the king, sitting to his right.	363		8	Pl. 6, No. 19.
64	— XXIII.	Bearded head with diadem, and curled hair.	Do.	364		4	Num. R. Gr. Pl. 70, No. 18
65	. . .	Do.	Do.	365			— No. 17.
66	....	Do.	Do.	367			Pl. 6, No. 20
67	.. .	Do.	Do.	368			Dr. Nelligan
68	....	Do.	Do.	369	APTE-MIT.		Sestini, Ch. Gen. p. 161
69	....	Do.	Do.	do.	ΠANE-MOT.		Longperier, p. 23.
70	— XXIV.	Younger head with pointed beard.	Same legend. Same type, but the figure presenting a palm.	374	ΞANΔIK	4	Pl. 6, No. 21
71	....	Do.	Do.	375	ΓOPΠI-EOT.		Sestini, T. 1, p. 557.
72	....	Do.	Do.	376			Longperier, p. 22.
73	....	Do.	Do.	377	ΥΠΕΡΒ		do.
74	....	Do.	Do.	379			Pl. 6, No. 22
75	....	Do.	Do.	do.	::NΔIKO.		Longperier, p. 22.
76	....	Do.	Do.	380			Stuart's Catal. 1838.
77	....	Do.	Do.	384			Thomas's Cat. No. 2830.
78	....	Do.	Do.	385			Brit. Mus.
79	....	Do.	Do.	386			Thomas, No. 2829.
80	....	Do.	Do.	388			Pl. 6, No. 23
81	— XXV.	Young beardless head, with diadem and curled hair. A. behind.	Do. but figure presenting a wreath.	389		7	Num. R. Gr. Pl. 71, No. 1
82	....	Do. B behind.	Do.	do.	ΔAIL[illegible]Y		Pl. 6, No. 24
83	....	Do. Δ behind.	Do.	390			Num. R. Gr. Pl. 71, No. 2
84	....	Do.	Do.	394			Longperier, p. 28.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	MONTH.	R.	REFERENCE
85	Arsaces XXVI.	Old head with diadem and curled hair. A behind.		421		8	Rollin's Sale, No. 920.
86	— XXVII.	King's head with tiara, diadem and short beard. A behind.	Legend as last but one, but ΟΑΑΓΑΕΟΥ . instead of ΠΑΚΟΡΟΥ.	433	indistinct	3	Num. R. Gr. Pl.71, No. 4.
87	....	Do. Γ behind.	Do.	do.	ΑΠΕΛΛΙΟ.		Num. R. Gr. Pl. 71, No.7.
88	....	Do. Δ do.	Do.	do.	ΠΕΡΙΤΕΙ		Pl. 6, No. 25.
89	....	Do. Θ do.	Do.	do.			Stuart's Catal. March 1838.
90	....	Do. A do.	Do.	435			Mr. De Bartholomæi, p.74
91	....	Do. Γ do.	Do.	do.			Author.
92	....	Do. ∈ do.	Do.	do			Pl. 6, No. 26
93	....	Do. B do.	Do.	436			Stuart's Catal. March 1838.
94	....	Do. Γ do.	Do.	do.	: : : ΑΑ : :		Pl. 6, No. 27.
95	....	Do. Δ do.	Do.	do.			Num. R. Gr. Pl. 71, No.6.
96	....	Do. do.	Do.	437			— No. 5.
97	....	Do. Γ do. Sceptre before.	Do.	443	ΑΠΕΛΑΙΟ.	7	
98	....	Do. adjuncts not mentioned.	Do.	448			Sestini, Col. Ains. T. 2, p. 68.
99	....	Do. Γ do. Sceptre before.	Do.	451		7	— p. 68.
100	....	Do. Γ do. no Sceptre.	Do.	453	ΑΠΕΛΑΙΟ.		Pellerin, Pl. 15.
101	....	Do. do.	Do.	454			Mus. Theupoli, Vol. 2.
102	....	Do. A do. Sceptre before.	Do.	460			Sestini, Col. Ains. T. 2, p. 68.
103	— XXVIII	King's head with long beard, and tiara with the ends falling over the ears. A behind.	Do.	do.	ΔΙ□Υ.	2	Mr. De Bartholomæi Pl.7, No.120
104	....	Do.	Do.	461	ΔΙΟΥ.		Num. R. Gr. Pl. 71, No.8.
105	....	Do.	Do.	do.	ΑΠΕΛ.		Stuart's Catal. March 1838.

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	MONTH.	R.	REFERENCE
106	Arsaces XXVIII.	Do. B behind.	Do.	464	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΥ.		Pl. 6, No. 28
107	....	Do.	Do.	465	ΔΙΟΥ.		Lieut. Col. Moore.
108	....	Do.	Do.	do.	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΥ.		D'Ennery, p. 33.
109	....	Do.	Do.	466			—— p. 34.
110	....	Do.	Do.	467	ΔΙΟΥ.		Col. Chesney
111	....	Do.	Do.	468			Sestini, Class. Gen. p. 162.
112	....	Do.	Do.	469			D'Ennery, p. 34.
113	....	Do.	Do. but ΟΛΟΓΑ.	482			Pl. 6, No. 29
114	....	Do.	Usual legend and type.	489	ΠΕΡΙΤ.		Sestini, Cl. Gen. p. 162.
115	....	Do.	Do.	do.	: ΑΙΕΕ.		Author.
116	....	Do.	Do.	490	ΑΡΤ.		ditto.
117	....	Do.	Do.	do.	: ΑΙΕΙ□Υ		Sestini, Col. Gen. p. 162.
118	....	Do.	Do.	491	Δ Ι □ Υ.		ditto.
119	....	Do.	Do.	do.	: ΕΡΕ :		ditto.
120	....	Do.	Do.	do.	: ΑΝΗΜ :		Num. R. Gr. Pl. 71, No. 11
121	....	Do.	Do.	492	ΔΙΟΥ.		Sale, June 20, 1848
122	....	Do.	Do.	do.	ΑΥΔΥ :		Sestini, Cl. Gen. p. 162.
123	....	Do.	Do.	493	ΔΥΣΤ.		ditto.
124	....	Do.	Do.	494	ditto.		ditto.
125	....	Do.	Do.	do.	ΞΑΝΘ.		ditto.
126	....	Do.	Do.	495	ditto.		ditto.
127	....	Do.	Do.	do.	ΔΑΙΕ.		ditto.
128	....	Do.	Do.	496	ΑΥΔΝ.		ditto.
129	....	Do.	Do.	498			ditto.
130	....	Do.	Do.	499	ΑΥΔΙ.		Num. R. Gr. Pl. 71, No 12

No.	KINGS.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	MONTH.	R.	REFERENCE.
131	Arsaces XXVIII.	Do.	Do.	499	APT.		Sestini, Cl. Gen. p. 162.
132	....	Do.	Do.	500			do.
133	....	Do.	Do.	501	ΑΠΕΛ.		do.
134	....	Do.	Do.	do.	: : ΑΙΞΙ.		do.
135	....	Do.	Do.	502	: : ΙΟ : :		do.
136	— XXIX.	Bearded head with tiara and large lappet or rosette over the ear. No letters behind the head.	Legend in large and rude letters, and but few of the words apparent Name spelt □ΑΠΓΑΕΠΥ.	504		7	Pl. 6, No.30.
137	....	Do.	Do.	506			Sestini, Col. Gen. p. 62.
138	....	Do.	Do.	508			do.
139	....	Do.	Do.	518			do.
140	....	Do.	Do.	520			Longperier, p. 28.
141	— XXX.	Younger head bearded, B behind. 3 strokes under.	Do. very few letters apparent.	521	: : PIT.	3	Num. R. Gr. Pl.71,No.16
142	....	Do.	Do.	do.	ΔΥΞΤ.		Sestini, Cl. Gen. p. 62.
143	....	Do.	Do.	do.	: ΟΡΠΙ.		ditto.
144	....	Do.	Do.	523			Author.
145	....	Do.	Do.	524	ΔΥΞΤ.		Sestini, Cl. Gen. p. 162.
146	....	Do.	Do.	525			ditto.
147	....	Do.	Do.	527			ditto.
148	....	Do.	Do	528			Mr. De Bartholomæi.
149	....	Do.	Do.	529			Author.
150	....	Do.	Do.	550			Pl.6, No. 31.
151	....	Do.	Do.	539			Num. R. Gr. Pl.71,No.17.
152	....	Do.	Do. name of Vologeses distinct.	539		8	Longperier, p. 26.

BRASS COINS OF THE ARSACIDÆ.

In treating of the Silver coins of the Arsacidæ, we have the assistance of many eminent numismatic writers, and their classifications, although frequently open to objections, are still valuable and applicable to the coins which have descended to us; when we come, however, to consider the brass and copper coins, we find ourselves on ground nearly new and unexplored, few writers having applied themselves to the subject, and the greater part of these curious and interesting coins being altogether unpublished; few of them indeed have been attempted to be appropriated, and still fewer have been attempted with success. In the latter part of the series we have dates to guide us, and in such instances the difficulty of appropriation is in a great measure removed, but by far the largest portion want these evidences, and their types are so very different from those of the silver coins, that our task in appropriating them becomes one of extreme difficulty.

In examining the types of these coins, it will naturally occur to us that a great similarity subsists between several of them and those of the Syrian brass coins, and a comparison between the former and the latter, will be readily acknowledged as a most material help towards a probable arrangement; unfortunately, however, the Syrian series only comes down to about 60 B.C., corresponding with the commencement of the reign of Arsaces XIII., whilst most of the Parthian brass coins are of later date, and from the frequent want of legends, the most difficult to class; the only other evidence we have to guide us exclusive of the dates which only commence with Arsaces XX., are their portraits and legends, the former of which in a great number of instances are wanting, and the latter when they occur, being generally either scanty or scarcely legible.

Having for many years directed my attention to the collecting specimens of these coins and forming a descriptive catalogue of them, I shall proceed to the formation of such an arrangement as seems to me most probable, and best sup-

ported by the different classes of evidence to which I have just alluded, and in which I have derived much assistance from the plates and appropriations of Mr. De Bartholomæi.

The coin generally placed at the head of the copper and brass series of the Parthian kings, is that presenting a helmed head, and on the reverse a trophy, and the legend ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ., with the letter Α, or sometimes Θ in a circle ; no such type I believe appears on the Syrian coins, although we find it on those of Lysimachus, the kings of Heraclea, and other kings of an earlier period than that of the first Arsaces, we find, however, on some of the coins of Seleucus I. and II., a letter or monogram in a circle as on these early Parthian coins, and it seems probable therefore, that these coins belong, as they are generally assigned, either to Arsaces I. or II., probably from the length of his reign to the latter.

The next coin bears a helmed head similar to that on the last, and on the reverse a similar legend with a tripod, a type common on the Syrian coins contemporary with Arsaces I. and II., and there can be little doubt but it belongs to one of them, probably the latter.

In that excellent little work on the coins of the Arsacidæ, by Mr. De Bartholomæi, published in the " Memoires de la Société D'Archeologie et De Numismatique de St. Petersbourg," is engraved a coin in middle brass, bearing on the obverse an old bearded head to its left, with diadem and a monogram behind the head, reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ., and a figure in a biga, which coin the learned writer assigns to Arsaces II., (Tiridates), and from the absence of the word ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, supposes that although belonging to the last half of his reign, it was struck before he had assumed the title of Great.

Mr. De Bartholomæi seems to be aware of the resemblance the portrait on this coin bears to those of his Nos. 10—14, which coins he assigns to Arsaces IV., but he argues that from the simplicity of its legend, it is more likely to belong to Arsaces II., on whose coins his own portrait has not hitherto appeared, those on his silver coins being those of Arsaces I. deified. These arguments are of some weight, but its likeness as to portrait to the coins he has given to Arsaces IV., and I to Arsaces III., is much stronger, and I feel far more inclined to appropriate this unique and most remarkable coin to Arsaces III.

I have met with no copper or brass coins which could be assigned to Arsaces IV. or V., but those of Arsaces VI., (Mithridates I.,) are extremely numerous, and as might be expected from a prince who reigned so long and over such an extent of territory, of great variety of type.

His earliest coins are those with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ., and of these the first struck seems to be that with portrait like that on the silver coins formerly assigned to Arsaces V., diadem and short beard, and a horse's head on the reverse.

The next differs from the last only in the king's head, having a tiara and long beard.

The next class exhibits a portrait with diadem only and long beard; reverse a horse pacing, sometimes having the legend in a compartment, some of these bear a monogram behind the king's head, others the letter M. in the field of the reverse.

The next which are but half the size of those I have described, bear a similar portrait, reverse Victory presenting a wreath.

The next of size similar to the last, bear a head with diadem, reverse the same legend and a Quiver.

All these were struck in the earlier part of his reign.

Those which follow bear the enlarged legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ., the largest bearing an old portrait with diadem and monogram behind, reverse a horse's head.

The next bears a similar portrait, and behind it the letters MI ., and a monogram, which Mr. De Bartholomæi considers as containing the letters ΘΡΙ ., (and I think with every appearance of probability), but not he says likely to be intended for the king's name, but rather for that of some town called after the king, or perhaps denoting the name of the god Mithra, but in this I do not coincide with him, as I think it more likely to stand for the king's name. The reverse exhibits a Quiver with some other object, possibly a staff or a bow unstrung. These coins are of a small size as well as the three following :—

The next coin exhibits a head with tiara and long beard, reverse Victory presenting a wreath.

The next a similar head, reverse Pegasus racing. The next a similar head, reverse a figure with spear presenting a wreath ; the legend on this coin is uncertain.

The last Brass coin I shall notice as belonging to this king, is a large and curious one, published by Mr. De Bartholomæi, Pl., No. 28, exhibiting the king's head with diadem and ear-rings, and a large anchor and rose behind the head, reverse a small bearded head with diadem, probably that of some tributary prince, and a legend, barbarous and uncertain.

The only brass coin I can asssign to Arsaces VII., is one of small size with a diademed head, resembling that on his silver coins ; the legend on the reverse is also

similar to that on the silver coins, viz. :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ; the type is an elephant.

Of the brass coins of Arsaces VIII., three varieties occur all bearing the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . as on his silver coins. The first bears a head with tiara, reverse a horse galloping ; the second the king's head with tiara ornamented with star, reverse a horse's head, and the third quoted in Mr. Payne Knight's catalogue, p. 197, with a head similar to the last, reverse the king sitting presenting a bow. This coin may possibly have been a drachm of base metal, or a forgery of the time from which the plating or washing had fallen off.

Of the very few brass coins which may be appropriated to Arsaces IX., I am aware of but three varieties, the first bearing a head with tiara similar to that on the silver coins of this prince, reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ . a Pegasus rearing ; the second described by Payne Knight in his catalogue p. 197, having a head similar to the last, a similar legend but ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ, &c. and a Pegasus crouching ; the third variety is noticed by Sestini, Cl. Gen. p. 160, and bears on the reverse the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ . and a Pegasus flying ; all these are extremely rare, and the two last I have never seen.

The brass coins of Arsaces X. are nearly as scarce as those of his predecessor, and I have met with only two varieties which I could assign to him ; the first bearing a head with tiara, reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . and a horse running ; the second a bearded head with diadem ; reverse a similar legend and horse's head, and I may here observe that the appropriation I have given these and all the other brass coins described in this work, is founded on and following that I have given the silver coins.

The only brass coins which I can assign to Arsaces XI., bear a head with diadem and curled hair and without beard crowned by a Victory ; reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . and a horse pacing, a specimen is given by Mr. De Bartholomæi and there is another in my own cabinet.

The brass coins which following the appropriation, I have given the silver I assign to Arsaces XII., exhibit two varieties ; the first having a head slightly bearded, with diadem, and curled hair and a Rose or Star behind ; reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . and an elephant's head ; the second a similar head with the rose or star, reverse a similar legend and a horse standing ; both these varieties are extremely rare.

The coins which I assign to Arsaces XIII., but whose appropriation I consider in some degree doubtful, exhibit a head with long neck, without beard, and with diadem and curled hair; the reverses present two varieties, the first having a legend in four lines but defaced, and an anchor; the other the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, &c. indistinct, and a Pegasus flying with ⩚ under; the former coin is very small, and the latter nearly of the largest size of small brass.

These coins are rare, as indeed are nearly all those of the preceding princes, except those of Arsaces VI.

The coins of the remaining kings exhibit a great number of varieties, and are far more numerous than those of the first thirteen, although few of the varieties are common.

Those of Arsaces XIV. are particularly numerous, but some of them, like his silver coins, are not easily distinguishable from those of his successor; nearly all are of a very small size, but a few are considerably larger.

The obverses exhibit a head slightly bearded with diadem and curled hair, and generally resembling that on his silver coins, the adjuncts of the star and crescent also frequently accompany it. The reverses are sometimes without legend, but generally with one, but almost invariably more or less defaced and imperfect; the types I have met with are a large turreted building of which there are at least two varieties, a figure standing before a pillar, a lance head, an anchor, a quiver, a victory, a horse's head, a bird, and a bust with turreted crown and short staff, there are also on some of these a monogram, or initial or some other adjuncts.

The brass coins of Arsaces XV. are still more numerous than those of his father, and exhibit a still greater variety of type, but they are for the most part very small and many of them altogether without legend, whilst those which present any are seldom very legible.

They generally present a head slightly bearded, with diadem and curled hair, and the only brass coin of the larger size I have met with has on the reverse a legend of seven words, of which ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΕΠΙ+ .... +ΙΑΕΛΛΗ . . are only traceable. The type is an elephant. The other brass coins of this king are nearly all of a very small size, and the legends generally defaced and imperfect.

The usual types on the reverses are a horse, a club, victory, a head with turreted crown, a vase, a fish, a horseman, and a bison, we also sometimes find the monogram ⩚ and other adjuncts.

I have met with no brass coins which I could assign to Arsaces XVI. or XVII., but as some of those of the middle of the series are not easy to appropriate, perhaps

the discovery of silver coins of these two princes may be the means of appropriating to them brass coins also ; however, as their reigns were extremely short, it is very unlikely that much money could have been struck by them.

To Arsaces XVIII. whose rare silver coins are of so interesting a description, may be assigned a brass coin of similar type to that of his drachms ; it is in my own cabinet and of very small size, and I have never seen a notice of any other.

The brass coins of Arsaces XIX., like his silver are not very common, but their great resemblance as to portrait to the latter, leave little doubt as to the correctness of their appropriation ; they are all very small and those which have occurred to me exhibit three varieties, all having on the obverse the king's head with pointed beard. The reverse of the 1st exhibits a bird with wings extended between a smaller bird and the monogram ; that of the 2nd a figure standing at an altar placed under a long staff, and a star and crescent over ; and that of the 3rd a large star and crescent, and the same symbols over the king's head ; none of these coins bear any legend.

Another coin now remains to be noticed, which from its date would seem also to belong to Arsaces XIX. ; it is noticed by Sestini, (Col. Ains. T. 2, p. 76,) and described as bearing a female head with Parthian tiara, reverse victory walking and the date BNT. (352,) and by that learned writer assigned, but erroneously to Arsaces XXIII ; there can be no doubt, however, but the coin if that date be correctly read, was struck during the reign of Artabanus if not by that prince. It bears no legend and from the tiara may probably exhibit the head of a king, but if so, it cannot be that of the aged Artabanus, but of a much younger prince, and a passage of Josephus would seem to suggest the appropriation, for that writer describing the great services rendered to Artabanus by Izates, king of Adiabene by whose assistance his second restoration to his throne was accomplished, mentions that Artabanus conferred on him the privilege of wearing an *upright tiara* in the Parthian fashion, and this privilege was conferred about the year 352, the date of this coin.

It is also possible that this coin may exhibit the portrait of the Parthian queen.

The only brass coin which I can assign to Arsaces XX (Bardanes) is one described by Sestini, (Col. Ains. T. 2, p. 76,) as having a bearded head with diadem and date 355, reverse a female head with turreted crown and behind ; and from its date there can be little doubt but it belongs to Arsaces XX.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXI., present many varieties, some of them rather common, but mostly of very small size, and seldom with legend, which when it occurs is almost always in extremely small characters and indistinct.

The obverses present the king's head with diadem, straight hair, and long straight beard, and the reverses I have met with are a vase, of which several varieties occur, a large wreath, a cornucopia, also of several varieties, a bird, a sitting figure holding a short staff, a figure at an altar, a female bust with spear, another with shield, another sitting with palm branch, and the reverse of another class is merely filled with the monogram ⋈, another exhibits a warrior, and another a bearded head with tiara, probably that of some tributary prince, there are also two rare coins bearing on the reverse the queen's head with diadem, and wearing on one a tiara, and on the other a turreted crown.

The brass coins which may be attributed to Meherdates, although scarce, are not of uncommon occurrence ; they present three varieties, all small and two of them extremely so ; the largest exhibits a full face very similar to that on the silver coins attributed to this king, having a star or rose at each side, reverse a naked figure with a bird on his left hand standing under an arch.

The second also presents a similar head, but without the adjuncts, the reverse is also similar to that on the former, but wants the arch. The obverse of the third is much defaced, but seems to present a large rose, whilst the reverse is similar to that on the first variety.

These coins evidently belong to the same prince as the silver coins given to Meherdates, and I think they are both correctly appropriated, the bird on the hand of the figure on the reverse may have been intended for an eagle and symbolic of the assistance given by the Romans to that prince, and in this respect seems to supply a piece of evidence which the silver coins do not afford.

The coins which from their portrait may I think be assigned to Arsaces XXII., are as may be expected from the extreme shortness of his reign very few in number and present as far as I have been able to ascertain, three varieties, and I have assigned them with the more confidence, inasmuch as Mr. De Bartholomæi has given them a similar appropriation.

The first presents on the obverse, an old bearded head with diadem and straight hair, reverse a horse's head in a beaded circle.

The second a similar head, reverse the fore part of a horse. The third a similar head but with the hair in curls,* the reverse similar to the last.

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* The hair in curls on this coin, is an additional proof that it belongs to Arsaces XXII., whose silver coins present a similar head dress, and the other two varieties must evidently follow the same appropriation.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXIII. are rare, of two sizes but both small, and present only one type varied on the larger by additional adjuncts.

The obverse on both, exhibits a portrait with short round beard and straight hair, exactly like that on the silver coins attributed to him ; the reverse of the larger coin presents in a square, a bird with wings raised and a small branch in its left claw, with a crescent over ; the smaller which is only half the size of the larger, wants the square and the adjuncts.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXIV., are very numerous as indeed are those of nearly all the remaining kings. Those I have met with exhibit eight varieties, all of very small size ; they all present on the obverse the king's head with diadem, long beard and straight hair The reverse of the first exhibits a figure sitting presenting a bow, with a legend nearly defaced, the second differs only in having no legend, the type of the 3rd is a bison lying down, that of the 4th a caduceus, that of the 5th a female head with turreted crown, and on the obverse of this coin the date 374 occurs, those of the 6th and 7th an ox's head full face these two varieties differing only in size, and that of the 8th a kind of fruit.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXV. are very rare, and present only three varieties. The first exhibits on the obverse a head without beard, with diadem and straight hair, reverse in a beaded circle an elegant two handled vase.

The second presents a similar head with date 404, reverse a female head with turreted crown. This coin seems to prove that at least for the first fifteen years of this prince's reign, his portrait was represented without beard, but no brass coins with bearded portrait occur which seem to belong to him, although the drachms with such portrait which I have assigned to him are extremely numerous.

The third is a bilingual coin of Pacorus in middle brass, in the Russian cabinet, noticed by Mr. De Bartholomæi, p. 69, and Lieut. Cunningham, Num. Chron. Vol. VI., p. 104. It exhibits the king's portrait beardless as on his other brass coins, but differing as to the hair which is arranged in a thick tuft behind the head, the bust is represented to the waist and almost full faced, on the obverse we find the Greek legend ΒΑCΙΛЄΥC . ΒΑCΙΛЄΩΝ . ΜЄΓΑC . ΠΑΚΟΡΗC ; the reverse exhibits distinctly in Ariano Pali characters, the legend *Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Mahatasa Pacorasa,* which seems to be the same as that expressed by the Greek legend on the obverse, placed round a figure of victory holding a crown and palm branch. This coin was probably struck in one of the remote provinces of the Parthian empire, from the language probably a part of the Bactrian territories, and from the figure of victory likely to have been acquired by Pacorus himself.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXVI., are very common, although his silver are amongst the very rarest of the series; these coins now generally present dates sometimes on the obverse, but more frequently on the reverse, and their size is considerably greater than that of most of those of the preceding monarchs from Arsaces IX.; the following are the varieties of type and date, which have come under my observation.

1st—King's head full face with date, reverse female with turreted crown, sitting with right hand raised, a palm in the field; the only specimen of this type that I am aware of, is in the British Museum; its date is 421, the earliest that occurs of this king.

2nd—Bearded head, side faced, (as all the remaining numbers are,) with Sassanian tiara, reverse female head with turreted crown, date 423, the only one I can find connected with this type.

3rd—Bearded head with common tiara, A. behind, reverse female with turreted crown sitting with right hand raised, date 423.

4th—Bearded head with diadem only, A. behind, reverse female head turreted, date 423.

5th—Bearded head with tiara, B behind, date 424, reverse female with turreted head, sitting with right hand raised, Π with O over.

6th—Similar obverse without the adjuncts, reverse female head turreted, dates 424, 428, 429, 430, 431, these coins vary something in size.

7th—Similar to the last, but with sceptre before the king, date 428.

8th—Head with Sassanian tiara and pointed beard, rosette over the ear, reverse female head turreted, date 428.

9th—Similar to the last, but with sceptre before the king, same date.

10th—Head with pointed beard and diadem only, rosette, reverse female head turreted, palm branch before, no date.

None of these varieties are common except No. 6.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXVII., Vologeses II. are rarer than those of his predecessor, but present the following varieties:—

1st—Bearded head with diadem only, reverse female head turreted, dates 434, 437.

2nd—Same as last, but the head with tiara, and dates 437, 440, 444.

3rd—Same head with tiara, A behind, reverse female with turreted crown, sitting with right hand raised, date 439.

4th—Same obverse, but date 441, instead of A, same reverse, but without date.

5th—Head with Sassanian tiara and pointed beard, reverse female head turreted, date 448.

The two first numbers are rather common, the three last very rare.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXVIII., Vologeses III. are extremely numerous, and present the following varieties :—

1st—Bearded head with tiara, reverse turreted head of a female, date 470.

2nd—Same head with diadem only, date 471, reverse type as last, A before.

3rd—Obverse as last, but short beard, date 472, reverse Parthian king sitting with hand raised.

4th—Bearded head with tiara, A behind, reverse female head turreted, dates 474, 475.

5th—Similar head without A, date 474, reverse as last, but without date

6th—Same obverse, date 475, reverse as last, A behind.

7th—Same obverse, dates 480, 488, reverse female with turreted head, sitting with right hand raised, palm.

8th—Same obverse and reverse, but without palm, date 488.

9th—Same obverse, dates 480, 481, reverse same figure, A before.

10th—Same head, B behind, reverse same figure, without A., date 481.

11th—Same head, but with diadem, dates 488, 489, reverse bearded head.

12th—Same obverse, date 494, reverse female head turreted.

13th—Same head, date 494 before, A behind, reverse as last.

14th—Bearded head, ornamented with pearls, date 500, reverse young head, B. and other letters defaced.

It is remarkable that no brass coins of the nine first years of his reign occur, and there are none without date. Those with female head turreted or female figure sitting are mostly common, the others very rare.

The coin given by Mr. De Bartholomæi, Pl. VII., No. 118, is a base drachm, and properly belonging to the silver series.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXIX., like his silver are extremely rare, and only two varieties have occurred to me.

1—Head full face with straight hair pointed at each side, reverse female sitting with palm branch before and leaning on her left hand.

2—Head full faced with rosettes, reverse bird with wings raised.

Several specimens of the former are I believe known, but the only one of the latter I have discovered is that given by Mr. De Bartholomæi, Pl. VII., No. 121.

No. 1, is of the largest size of small brass, No. 2, extremely minute.

The brass coins of Arsaces XXX., which close the series are rare, although not so much so as those of his predecessor; five varieties are known to me.

1—Bearded head with globe, A behind. reverse female head turreted, date 521; this coin is by M. Longperier assigned to this king, but I have some doubts as to whether it may not belong to Arsaces XXIX., I have not however seen the coin. Silver coins with date of the 4th month of this year occur of this king.

2—Young head and pointed beard, A before, reverse as last, but A instead of date.

3—Similar head, reverse bird standing, this coin is of an oblong and very irregular shape.

4—Same head, reverse bird flying with wreath in its beak.

5—Same as last, but bird standing with wings raised.

There is also in my cabinet a little brass coin, which seems to have been coined by this king, or at least in his reign; the head on the obverse is indistinct, but the reverse exhibits a fire altar, with Greek legend, of which the word ΔΙΚΑΟΥ (sic) is only legible.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

OF THE

BRASS COINS OF THE ARSACIDÆ.

No.	KINGS.	†Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	R.	REFERENCE
1	Arsaces II.	3	Helmed head.	ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . Trophy A in a circle.		7	Sestini, Cl. Gen., p. 160.
2	....	3	Do.	Do. Θ do.		8	do.
3	....	2½	Do.	Legend indistinct. Tripod.		8	Num. R. Gr. Pl.67, No. 2.
4	— III.	5	Old bearded head to its left, with diadem.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . Figure in a Biga.		U	Pl. 7, No. 1.
5	VI.	4½	Head with diadem and short beard.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . Horse's head.		2	— No. 2.
6	....	4	Same head, tiara and long beard.	Do.		1	— No. 3.
7	....	4¾	Same head with diadem only.	Same legend. Sometimes in a compartment. Horse pacing.		1	— No. 4.
8	....	4¾	Do., monogram behind.	Do.		4	Author.
9	....	4¾	Do., without monogram.	Do. M in the field.		5	do.
10	....	2	Do.	Same legend. Victory presenting a wreath.		3	Pl. 7, No. 5.
11	....	2½	Do.	Same legend. Quiver, &c.		3	— No. 6.
12	....	4¼	Old head with diadem, some with monograms behind and before.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ . Horse's head.		2	— No. 7.

* The names of the months do not appear on the Brass coins, and the date of the year first appears on those of Arsaces XX. † See Scale of Sizes.

No.	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	R.	REFERENCE
13	Arsaces VI.	2½	Similar head. Letters MI., and monogram.	Same legend. Quiver and some other object.		8	Mr. De Bartholomæi, p 2, No. 26.
14	....	3	Head with tiara and long beard.	Same legend. Victory presenting a wreath.		4	Pl. 7, No. 8.
15	....		Do., with diadem only.	Same legend. Pegasus racing.		7	Mr. De Bartholomæi, p. 3, No. 31.
16	....	2	Do., with tiara.	Legend uncertain. Figure with wand presenting a wreath.		7	Pl. 7, No. 9.
17	....	7	Bearded head with diadem and ear rings. Anchor and Rose behind.	Barbarous legend. Small bearded head with diadem.		U	— No. 10.
18	Arsaces VII.	3¼	Head with diadem.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΤΟΣ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . Elephant.		6	— No. 11.
19	— VIII.	3¾	Bearded head with tiara.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ✝ΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Horse galloping.		4	— No. 12.
20	....	3¾	Do., tiara, ornamented with star.	Same legend, but indistinct. Horse's head.		6	Author.
21*	....		Do.	Same legend. King sitting presenting a bow.			P. Knight, Catal., p. 197.
22	— IX.	4½	Bearded head, with tiara externally ornamented.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ . Pegasus rearing.		7	Pl. 7, No. 13.
23	....		Do.	Same legend, but ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ . Pegasus crouching.		8	P. Knight, Catal , p. 197.
24	....			ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ. Pegasus flying.		8	Sestini, Col. Gen. Pl. 160.
25	— X.		Head with tiara.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ✝ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ . Horse running.			Mr. De Bartholomæi Pl 3, No. 42, and Author.

* Perhaps a base drachm.

No.	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date	R.	REFERENCE.
26	Arsaces X.		Bearded head with diadem.	Same legend. Horse's head.			Num. des Rois Grecs, Pl. 68, No. 9.
27	— XI.	4	Head with diadem and curled hair without beard, crowned by Victory.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ✝ΙΑΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ✝ΙΑΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Horse pacing.		8	Pl. 7, No. 14.
28	— XII		Head slightly bearded, with diadem and curled hair. Rose or star behind.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . Elephants head.		8	Mr. De Bartholomæi Pl. 4, No. 51.
29	....	3½	Do., without rose.	Similar legend. Horse standing.		7	Pl. 7, No. 15.
30	— XIII.	1½	Head with long neck.	Legend in four lines defaced.— Anchor.		7	— No. 16.
31	....	3½	Do.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . &c., indistinct. Pegasus flying ⩓ . under.		8	Author.
32	— XIV.	1	Head slightly bearded, with diadem and curled hair.	: : ΣΑΚΟΥ . . . . : : ✝ΑΝΥΣ . . . . . Bird walking.			Pl. 7, No. 17.
33	....	2½	Do.	Legend nearly defaced. A fortification with three high towers.		4	— No. 18.
34	....	2¾	Do., older head.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟ . . . . . . A fortification with two high central towers.		4	— No. 19.
35	....	1¼	Do.	Legend defaced. Figure standing before a pillar.		5	— No. 20.
36	....	2¼	Do., Star before and crescent behind.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕ . . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ . . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . . . ΓΕΤ . . . Anchor. Λ in the field.		6	— No. 21.
37	....	2¼	Do.	Do., without Λ.		3	Author.
38	....	1½	Similar head, without the adjuncts.	Legend very obscure. Quiver.		2	Pl. 7, No. 22.

No.	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	R.	REFERENCE
39	Arsaces XIV.	2	Do.	Legend obscure, but traces of the words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ — ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ — ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ — ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ — +ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. Same type with rose or star.			Mr. De Bartholomæi Pl. 4, No. 58.
40	....	3	Similar head, rather younger.	Legend in five lines, but nearly defaced. Figure presenting a wreath.		6	Pl. 7, No. 23.
41	....	1	Do., neck longer.	: : ΑΣΙΛ . . ΔΙΚΑ . . ΕΠΙ+-ΝΟΥ . . . . . ΙΛΕΛΛ . . . . . Horse's head.			— No. 24.
42	....	1¼	Similar head.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, &c., as on the silver coins of this king. Star crescent and ☪ .			— No. 25.
43	....	1½	Do., older.	. . ΑΣΙΛ . . ΒΑΣΙΛ . . . . . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . . Bird with wings raised.		6	— No. 26.
44	....	1¼	Do., Star before, star and crescent behind.	No legend. Bird walking.		4	— No. 27.
45	....	2½	Same head. Star and crescent behind.	. . . . . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ΔΙΚΑΙ-ΟΥ . ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥ . . . . ΛΕ-ΛΛΗΝ . . . Bust with turreted crown, with a kind of crooked staff in hand.			— No. 28.
46	....	1½	Do., without adjuncts.	Without legend. Head and neck of a horse. Lozenge shaped instrument in the field.		4	— No. 29.
47	Arsaces XV.	4	Head slightly bearded, with diadem and curled hair.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . ΕΠΙ+ . . . . . +ΙΛΕΛΛΗ . . . Elephant.			Pl. 8, No. 30.
48	....	2	Do.	Legend defaced. Horse standing.		7	Author.
49	....		Do.	Legend in double lines indistinct. Club.		4	ditto.

No.	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	R.	REFERENCE
50*	Arsaces XV.	1	Do. Young head, pointed beard.	Legend of a few uncertain letters.		3	Pl. 8, No. 31.
				Victory walking.		3	— No. 32.
51	....	1¼	Female turreted head to its left.	No legend. Victory presenting a wreath before a building.			
52	....	2	Head slightly bearded with diadem and curled hair.	No legend. Female head with turreted crown to its left, a small turreted crown behind.			— No. 33.
53	....	1½	Do. longer beard.	. . . . ΑΤΟΥ . and other letters indistinct. Large ⩚ in the field.		6	— No. 34.
54	....	1½	Do. beard more pointed.	ΒΑΣΙΛ . . . ΒΑΣΙΛΕ . . ΑΡΣΑ . . . ΙΛΕΛΛΗ . . An elegant two handled vase, an object like a small altar.		7	— No. 35.
55	....	1¼	Do. Star before.	. . ΑΡΣΑΚ . . . . . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ . A fish, ⩚ over.			— No. 36.
56	....	1¼	Similar head. Eagle with wreath behind.	Legend underneath uncertain. Bison, star over.			— No. 37.
57	....	2	Similar head crowned by two victories.	No legend. Horseman in a beaded circle.			— No. 38.
58	— XVIII	2	Head with diadem and straight beard.	No legend. In a square Victory presenting a wreath.		8	— No. 39.
59	— XIX.	1½	Old head with diadem and pointed beard.	No legend. Bird with wings extended between a smaller bird and a large ⩚ .			— No. 40.
60	....	1½	Do. larger head.	No legend. Figure at an altar near a long staff. Star and crescent over.			Pl. 8, No. 41.
61	....	2	Do. star and crescent behind.	No legend. Large star and crescent.			— No. 42.
62	— XX.		Bearded head with diadem. Date.	No legend. Female head with turreted crown. A behind.	355	8	Sestini, Col. Ains., T. 2, p. 77.

* Oval.

No.	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date	R.	REFERENCE.
63	Arsaces XXI.	2	Head with diadem, hair straight and straight beard.	Legend in four lines indistinct. Large Δ.			Pl.8, No. 43.
64	....	1½	Do.	Legend in two lines indistinct. Slender two handled vase.		3	— No. 44.
65	....	1½	Do.	Do. Vase square handled		2	— No. 45.
66	....	1½	Do.	No legend. Two handled vase in a dotted circle.		2	— No. 46.
67	....	2¼	Do.	No legend. Two handled vase in a dotted ellipse.		3	— No. 47.
68	....	2	Do.	No legend. In a beaded circle a kind of fruit.			Author.
69	....	1½	Do.	No legend. A large wreath.			Pl. 8, No.48.
70	....	2¼	Do.	No legend. Cornucopia in a wreath.		3	— No. 49.
71	....	2	Do.	No legend. Cornucopia in a dotted ellipse.		2	Author.
72	....	2¾ 1	Do.	No legend. Bird with wings raised.		4	do.
73	....	2	Do.	No legend. In a circle, a bird with wings raised, a wreath under.		6	Pl.8, No.50.
74	....	2*	Do.	No legend. In a square compartment, a figure sitting with short staff.		6	— No. 51.
75	....	2½	Do.	No legend. In a beaded circle, a figure standing at an altar.			Pl. 8, No.52.
76	....	2†	Do.	No legend. In a beaded circle, a female figure three quarter length, with wand in left hand and right hand raised.		6	— No. 53.
77	....	2½	Do.	No legend. In a beaded circle, a female sitting with palm in right hand.		7	— No. 54.

* A square coin. † Oblong.

No.	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	R.	REFERENCE
78	Arsaces XXI.	2*	Do. beard pointed.	No legend. In a beaded ellipse, a figure with shield in left hand and right hand raised.			Pl. 8, No. 58.
79	....	2	Same head.	No legend. Queen's head with tiara to its left in a circle.		7	— No. 55.
80	....	2	Do.	No legend. Queen's head with diadem & turreted crown to its left in a circle.		7	— No. 56.
81	....	2†	Do.	No legend. In a beaded square, a figure with mallet in left hand and right hand raised.		8	— No. 57.
82	....	1½	Do.	No legend. Bearded head, with tiara and straight hair.		8	— No. 59.
83	Meherdates.	2¼	Young head full face between two stars.	No legend. Naked figure, with bird on left hand standing under an arch.		6	Pl. 9, No. 60.
84	....	1½	Defaced, but apparently a large rose.	No legend. Same type.		8	— No. 62.
85	....	1¼	Young head full faced.	No legend. Naked figure standing, with bird on left hand.		7	— No. 61.
86	Arsaces XXII.	2	Old bearded head, with diadem and straight hair.	No legend. In a beaded circle, a horse's head.			— No. 63.
87	....	1¾	Do.	Fore part of a horse.			
88	....	1¾	Do. but hair in curls.	Do.			— No. 64.
89	Arsaces XXIII.	2	Head with short round beard.	In a square, a bird to its left with wings raised, and a branch in its left claw, a crescent over.		7	— No. 65.
90	....	1¼	Do.	Bird fronting with wings raised.		8	— No. 66.
91	Arsaces XXIV.	1½	Head with long beard and straight hair.	Legend in four lines but defaced. Figure sitting presenting a bow.		3	— No. 67.
92	....	1¼	Do.	No legend. Type as last.		3	— No. 68.

* Square. † Irregular square.

No.	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	R.	REFERENCE
93	Arsaces XXIV.	2	Do.	Ox's head, full face.		3	Pl. 9,No. 69.
94	....	1¼	Do.	Do.		3	Author.
95	....	1¾	Do.	In a beaded circle, a kind of fruit.			Pl. 9,No. 70.
96	....	1½	Similar head.	Caduceus in a beaded ellipse.			— No. 71.
97	....		Do.	Female head with turreted crown, A .	374	8	Sestini,* Col. Ains.,T.2, p.77
98	....	1½	Do., but older.	In a beaded circle a bison lying down.			Pl. 9,No. 72.
99	Arsaces XXV.	1½	Young head without beard.	An elegant two handled vase.		8	— No. 73.
100	....		Do.	Female head with turreted crown.	404	8	P. Knight, Catal., p. 201.
101	....		King's head.	Victory with crown and palm.		8	Num. Chron. Vol. VI., p. 104.
			BACIΛЄYC . BAᶜI .... AC-ΠAKOPHC . †	Maharajasa, Rajadhirajasa, Mahatasa, Pacorasa, in Ariano Pali characters.			
102	Arsaces XXVI.		King's head, full faced. Date.	Female with turreted crown sitting with right hand raised. Palm in the field.	421	8	Brit. Mus.
103	....		Bearded head,‡ with Sassanian tiara.	Female head with turreted crown, date.	423		
104	....		Bearded head, with common tiara. A behind.	Female with turreted crown sitting with right hand raised ; date.	423		Sestini, Col. Ains., T. 2, p. 77.
105	....		Do. with diadem only, A behind.	Female head with turreted crown, date.	423		Sestini, Cl.Gen.,p.163.
106	....		Bearded head with tiara. B before, date behind.	Type as last but one. Π with O over.	424		— do.
107	....		Similar head, no adjuncts.	Female head with turreted crown, date.	424	1	
108	....		Do. with rosette and sceptre.	Do.	428	1	Pl.9, No. 74.
109	....		Do. no adjuncts.	Do.	429	1	Sestini, Cl.Gen.,p.163.
110	....	3¼	Do.	Do.	430	1	Pl.9, No. 75.
111	....		Do.	Do.	431	1	Sestini, Cl.Gen.,p.163.

* Who notices a similar one with date 378. † The third word being intended for MEΓAC, the Ariano-Pali legend on the reverse seems to be the same as the Greek on the obverse, viz., "The king of kings, the Great Pacorus." ‡ Side faced as all the other Coins of this reign are.

No.	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	R.	REFERENC.
112 *	Arsaces XXVI.	7	Do. Sceptre before.	Do.	428	7	
113	....		Head with Sassanian tiara and pointed beard, rosette over the ear.	Do.	428		Sestini, Cl. Gen., p. 163.
114	....	5¼	Do. Sceptre before.	Do.	430	8	Mr. De Bartholomæi, Pl. vii, No. 113.
115	....	3¼	Head with pointed beard and diadem only, rosette behind.	Same head, with palm branch before. No date.			Pl. 9, No. 76.
116	Arsaces XXVII.		Bearded head with diadem only.	Same head, date.	434		Sestini, Cl. Gen., p. 163.
116	....		Do.	Do.	437		do.
117	....		Do. with tiara.	Do.	437		
118	....		Do.	Do.	440		
119	....		Do.	Do.	444		Sestini, Cl. Gen., p. 163.
120	....		Do. A behind.	Female with turreted crown. sitting with right hand raised. Date.	439		do.
121	....		Same head. Date.	Do. without date.	441		do
122	....	6¼	Head with Sassanian tiara and pointed beard, rosette over the ear.	Female head with turreted crown. Date.	448	7	Pl. 9, No. 77.
123	Arsaces XXVIII.		Bearded head with tiara.	Do.	470		Sestini, Cl. Gen., p. 163.
124	....		Do. with diadem only. Date.	Do. A instead of date.	471		do., p. 164.
125	....		Do. but short beard.	Parthian king sitting with right hand raised.	472	7	do.
126	....		Bearded head with tiara. A behind.	Female head with turreted crown. Date.	474	2	do.
127	....		Do.	Do.	475	2	Sestini, Col. Ains., T. 2, p. 79
128	....		Do. without A, and with date.	Do. without date.	474	2	Sestini, Cl. Gen. Pl. 164.
129	....		Do.	Do. A behind.	475	2	do.

* Side faced as all the other coins of this reign are.

	KINGS.	Size.	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.	Date.	R.	REFERENCE
130	Arsaces XXVIII.	3	Do.	Female with turreted crown sitting with right hand raised. Palm.	480	1	Pl. 9, No. 78.
131	....		Do.	Do.	488	1	
132	....	2¾	Do.	Do. without palm.	do.	1	Author.
133	....		Do.	Do. A before.	480	2	Sestini, Cl. Gen., p. 164.
134	....		Do.	Do.	481	2	do.
135	....		Same head, B behind.	Same type, date.	do.		do.
136	....		Same head with diadem only. Date.	Bearded head.	488	7	do.
137	....		Do.	Do.	489	7	do.
138	....		Do.	Female head with turreted crown.	494	1	
139	....		Do. date before, A behind.	Do.	do.	1	Sestini, Cl. Gen., p. 164.
140	....		Bearded head ornamented with pearls, date.	Young head. B and other letters defaced.	500	8	do.
141	Arsaces XXIX.	3½	Head full face with straight hair, pointed at each side.	Female sitting and leaning on her left hand. Palm branch before.		6	Pl. 9, No. 79.
142	....	1¼	Head full face with rosettes over the ears.	Bird with wings raised.		8	— No. 80.
143	Arsaces XXX.*		Bearded head with globe, A behind.	Female head turreted, date.	521	8	Sestini, Col. Ains., T. 2, p. 79.
144	....	1¼	Young head with pointed beard, A before.	Do. A instead of date.		5	Pl. 9, No. 81.
145	....	1½	†Young head with tiara.	Bird standing.		5	— No. 82.
146	....	1¼	Do. with pointed beard.	Bird flying with wreath.		5	— No. 83.
147	....	2	Do.	Bird standing with wreath in its bill, and wings raised.		8	Author.

* This coin may possibly belong to Arsaces XXIX.

† Irregular shape.

APPENDIX, No. I.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE REIGNS

OF THE

PARTHIAN KINGS.

KINGS.			B. C.	Aer. Seleuc.	Reigned Years.	Extreme Dates on their Coins.
Arsaces	I.	.. .. ..	255	57	2	
....	II.	Tiridates I. ..	253	59	37	
....	III.	Artabanus I. ..	216	96	20	
....	IV.	Phraapatius. ..	196	116	15	
....	V.	Phrahates I. ..	181	131	8	
....	VI.	Mithridates I. ..	173	139	37	
....	VII.	Phrahates II. ..	136	176	10	
....	VIII.	Artabanus II. ..	126	186	3	
....	IX.	Mithridates II. ..	123	189	36	
....	X.	Mnaskires. ..	87	225	10	233
....	XI.	Sinatroces. ..	77	235	7	
....	XII.	Phrahates III. ..	70	242	10	
....	XIII.	Mithridates III. ..	60	252	6	
....	XIV.	Orodes I. ..	54	258	17	
....	XV.	Phrahates IV. ..	37	275	41	275—311.
		Tiridates II.				
....	XV.	Phrahates IV. restored.				
			A. D.			
....	XVI.	Phrahataces. ..	4	316	1	
....	XVII.	Orodes II. ..	5	317		
....	XVIII.	Vonones I. ..	5	317	8	
....	XIX.	Artabanus III. ..	13	325	28	334—353.
		Tiridates III.				
		Cinnamus.				
		Artabanus III. restored.				

KINGS.		A. D.	Aer. Seleuc.	Reigned Years.	Extreme Dates on their Coins.
Arsaces XX.	Bardanes. ..	42	353	4	353—357.
.... XXI.	Goterzes. ..	45	357	6	357—362.
	Meherdates. ..	50	362		
.... XXII.	Vonones II. ..	51	363		363.
.... XXIII.	Vologeses I. ..	51	363	11	364—369.
.... XXIV.	Artabanus IV. ..	62	374	15	374—388.
.... XXV.	Pacorus. ..	77	389	31	389—404.
..... XXVI.	Chosroes. ..	108	420	13	421—431.
	Parthamaspates. ..	115	427	1	
.. . XXVI.	Chosroes restored. ..	116	428		
.... XXVII.	Vologeses II. ..	121	433	27	433—460.
.... XXVIII.	Vologeses III. ..	148	460	44	460—502.
.... XXIX.	Vologeses IV. ..	192	504	17	504—520.
.... XXX.	Vologeses V. and Artabanus V.	209	521	18	521—539.

APPENDIX, No. 2.

TITLES ON THE COINS OF THE PARTHIAN KINGS.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.	King.	On Coins of Arsaces II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.	Do.	Arsaces XVIII.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ.	King of Kings.	Arsaces VI., XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XIX., and following.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ.	Do.	Arsaces XXI.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ.	Ruler of Kings.	Arsaces XII.
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ. ΘΕΑΣ. ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑΣ.	Queen Heavenly Goddess—Mousa.	
ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ.	Great.	Arsaces II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., XV.
ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ.	Whose Father was a God—Arsaces IV., VII., IX.	
ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ.	Lover of his Brother.	Arsaces V,
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.	Illustrious	Arsaces VI., VII., IX., X., XI., XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XIX. and following.
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ	Benefactor.	Arsaces VII., X., XI., XIV., XV., XIX., and following.
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ.	Commander in Person.	Arsaces VIII.
ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.	Lover of the Greeks.	Arsaces VI., VIII., X., XI. XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XIX., and following.

* The Titles and Names on the Parthian Coins, are almost always in the Genitive case, the only exceptions being those of Arsaces XVIII., Vonones I. and XXI. Goterzes, and a brass Coin of Arsaces XXV. Pacorus, which exhibit them in the Nominative.

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.	Lover of his Father.	Arsaces VIII., XI., XIII.
ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ.	Conqueror, ..	Arsaces IX.
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.	Just.	Arsaces XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XIX., and following.
ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.	Descended from an illustrious Father—Arsaces XII.	
ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΣ.	Having Conquered. ..	Arsaces XVIII.
ΥΙΟΣ. ΚΕΚΛΗΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ. ..	The named or adopted Son—Arsaces XXI.	

GREEK NUMERALS ON PARTHIAN COINS.

A 1	Z 7	M 40	P 100
B 2	H 8	N 50	Σ 200
Γ 3	Θ 9	Ξ 60	T 300
Δ 4	I 10	O 70	Υ 400
E 5	K 20	Π 80	Φ 500
Ϛ 6	Λ 30	Ϙ 90	

Of these Numerals, the units are generally placed first, the tens next, and the hundreds last, thus ΒΝΤ signifies 352.

APPENDIX, No. 3.

MACEDONIAN NAMES OF MONTHS OCCURRING ON PARTHIAN COINS.

1.—ΔΙΟΣ.	..	Dius,	.. November, (the 1st Month.)
2.—ΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΣ.	..	Apelæus,	.. December.
3.—ΑΥΔΙΝΑΙΟΣ.	..	Audinæus,	.. January.
4.—ΠΕΡΙΤΙΟΣ.	..	Peritius,	.. February.
5.—ΔΥΣΤΡΟΣ.	..	Dystrus,	.. March.
6.—ΞΑΝΤΙΚΟΣ.	..	Xantichus,	.. April.
7.—ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΣ.	..	Artemisius,	.. May.
8.—ΔΑΙΣΙΟΣ.	..	Dæsius,	.. June.
9.* ΠΑΝΕΜΟΣ.	..	Panemus,	.. July.
10.* ΛΩΟΣ or ΣΟΛΩΙΟΣ.	..	Lous or Soloius,	.. August.
11.—ΓΟΡΠΙΑΙΟΣ.	..	Gorpiæus,	.. September.
12.—ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΣ.	..	Hyperberetæus,	.. October.

* Thus marked were unknown to Sestini, since his time Panemus has occurred on Tetradrachms of Arsaces **XXI.** and **XXIII.**, and Soloius on those of Arsaces **XV.**, **XIX.** and **XXVIII.**

We have August 253 (Aer. Seleuc.) on Coins of Arsaces **XIX.**, and September of that year on those of his successor Arsaces **XX.**

June 389 is the first date which occurs of Arsaces **XXV.**

December 433 is the first date of Arsaces **XXVII.**

A Coin of Arsaces **XXVII.** is said to occur with November 460, if so, that month separates his reign from that of his successor Arsaces **XXVIII.**, on whose Coins that date unquestionably occurs.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE 1.

DRACHMS AND SMALLER SILVER COINS.

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT GRAINS.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
1	Arsaces II. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ . ..	..	132	British Museum.
2	Do. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ	56	133	Author.
3	Do. Do. ..	58½	..	Do.
4	Do. Reverse Head of Arsaces III. ..	9	..	Do.
5	Arsaces III. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ . ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ	68½	..	Do.
6	Do. older head, Do. ..	55½	..	Do.
7	Arsaces IV. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ..	..	135	Mr. De Bartholomæi, Pl. 1, No. 5.
8	Do. TAM . behind head, Do. ..	55	..	Author.
9	Do. PAΓ . in monogram, Do. ..	..	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, Pl. 1, No. 6.
10	Do. ΔP . in monogram, Do. ..	..	..	Do. No. 7.
11	Arsaces V. ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛ+ΟΥ . ..	..	136	Do. Pl. 2, No. 15.
12	Do. PA . in monogram. Do. ..	..	137	Do. do., No. 16.
13	Arsaces VI. Young head, figure on Cortina, ..	56	..	Author.
14	Do. older head, Do. ..	62	..	Do.
15	Do. two monograms on obverse, and one on reverse, ...	..	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi. Pl. 2, No. 19.
16	Do. figure on chair	57	..	Author.
17	Do. older head, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ	64	..	Do.
18	Do. Tiara ornamented with Crescents,	60	..	Do.

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT GRAINS.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
19	Arsaces VII. Tiara ornamented with Star, ..	59	..	Author.
20	Do. do. do. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. ..	..	138	Col. Chesney.
21	Do. Head to its left, rev. Jupiter sitting,	..	..	British Museum.
22	Do. Reverse Pegasus, ...	Hemi-drachm.	139	Num. des Rois Grecs. Pl. 68, No. 2.
23	Arsaces VII. Head with diadem only, ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ.	59	140	Author.
24	Do. smaller head, Do. ..	62	..	Do.

PLATE 2.

25	Arsaces VIII. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ. ..	61	141	Author.
26	Do. Do. larger bust, ...	60½	..	Do.
27	Do. Do. tiara different, ...	58	..	Do.
28	Arsaces IX. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ. ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. ..	56	142	Do.
29	Do. Do. larger bust, ...	59⅓	..	Do.
30	Do. Do. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ.	..	..	Num. des Rois Grecs.
31	Arsaces X. ΕΠΙ✝ΑΝΟΥΣ. ΚΑΙ. ✝ΙΑΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. monogram over the bow,	61	..	Author.
32	Do. Do. monogram under the bow, ..	60	..	Do.
33	Do. Do. different monogram, do. ..	57½	..	Do.
34	Do. Do. Do. Do. ..	55	..	Do.
35	Do. Do. date ΓΛΣ. (233) under bow,	58½	143	Do.
36	Do. Do. different tiara, anchor behind head, ...	..	168	Mr. De Bartholomæi, Pl. 3, No. 39.
37	Do. Do. large head with diadem, and curled hair, ...	..	144	Do. No. 43.
38	Arsaces XI. Full face, ...	48	145	Author.
39	Do. Side face, ...	..	146	Num. des Rois Grecs.
40	Arsaces XII. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ..	57½	..	Author.
41	Do. Do. B. behind figure on reverse,	61½	..	Do.
42	Do. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. Κ. under the bow, ...	57½	..	Do.
43	Arsaces XIII. ✝ΙΑΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. ..	58	147	Do.
44	Arsaces XIV. young head, ...	59	148	Do.
45	Do. Do. Crescent behind, ..	59½	..	Do.
46	Do. Older head, Star before, Crescent behind, ...	61	..	Do.
47	Do. Do. Do. rude legend, ..	62	..	Do.
48	Arsaces XIV. or XV. (obolus,)	8	170	Do.

PLATE 3.

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT GRAINS.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
49	Arsaces XIV. and Pacorus, ...	62	148	Author,
50	Do. Do. Eagle behind head, ..	57	..	Do.
51	Arsaces XV. Star before, Crescent behind, ..	59	149	Do.
52	Do. Star before, Star & Crescent behind,	59½	..	Do.
53	Do. Do. different monogram, ..	61	..	Do.
54	Do. Do.	58	..	Do.
55	Do. Eagle with wreath behind, ..	60	..	Do.
56	Do. Do. different monogram, ..	60	..	Do.
57	Do. Do. Do. ..	48	..	Do.
58	Do. Do. and Eagle behind the chair,	59	..	Do.
59	Do. Star and Crescent before, Eagle behind, ...	58	..	Do.
60	Do. Do. Victory behind, ..	..	..	Mr. Tobin.
61	Do. Two Victories crowning the king's head, ...	54	..	Author.
62	Arsaces XV. and Mousa, ...	..	..	Rev. Mr. Loscombe.
63	Do. Do. different, ...	..	..	British Museum.
64	Arsaces XVIII. reverse Victory walking, ..	56½	150	Author.
65	Arsaces XIX. Long hair, pointed beard,	55½	151	Do.
66	Arsaces XX. Short round beard, ...	50	152	Do.
67	Arsaces XXI. Reverse very rude, ...	44½	171	Do.
68	Do. Common legend, ...	58	153	Do.
69	Do. Do. N before head, ...	56½	..	Do.
70	Do. With name Goterzes, ...	..	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, Pl. 6, No. 83.
71	Meherdates, Full face, ...	50	154	Author.
72	Do. Rude type and legend, ...	52	..	Do.

PLATE 4.

73	Arsaces XXII. Good work, ...	54½	155	Author.
74	Do. Unknown character behind the head,	54	..	Do.
75	Arsaces XXIII. Short round beard, ...	56½	156	Do.
76	Do. N under the bow, rude type, ..	53	..	Do.
77	Do. Do. Do. different, ..	49	..	Do.
78	Arsaces XXIV. Young head, long straight beard,	56½	157	Do.
79	Do. Older head, pointed beard, ..	54½	..	Do.

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT GRAINS.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
80	Arsaces XXIV. older and larger head, ..	55	..	Author.
81	Arsaces XXV. young head without beard, ..	53½	158	Do.
82	Do. older head with pointed beard, ..	58	159	Do.
83	Do. Do. different, ...	54	..	Do.
84	Parthamaspates, young head with round tiara, ..	51	160	Do.
85	Arsaces XXVI. (Hemidrachm) old head with tiara,	26	..	Do.
86	Arsaces XXVII. short beard, perfect legend, ..	46½	161	Col. Chesney.
87	Do. long beard, do., but first line in unknown characters, ..	51	..	Author.
88	Do. Do. very rude legend and type,	56	..	Do.
89	Arsaces XXVIII. young head, rude legend, ..	49½	162	Do.
90	Do. older head, Do. ..	58	..	Do.
91	Do. (Tetrobolus) rev. figure sitting.	40½	..	Do.
92	Arsaces XXIX. Head with large rosette, ..	..	163	Mr. De Bartholomæi.
93	Do. Full face with rosettes, ..	57	162	Author.
94	Arsaces XXX. unknown character behind the head, ...	56	163	Do.
95	Do. different characters, do. ..	57	..	Do.
96	Do. Do. Do.	52	..	Do.

PLATE 5.—TETRADRACHMS.

1	Arsaces VI. Reverse, Hercules walking, ..	..	175	British Museum.
2	Arsaces XIV. Reverse, Jupiter sitting, ..	..	..	Do.
3	Arsaces XV. Do. date 285 on the seat, ..	181	..	Author.
4	Do. Reverse, Figure presenting a wreath to the king sitting, ..	230	..	Do.
5	Do. Reverse, Figure with palm, &c. ..	204*	..	Do.
6	Do. Do. with date 286, ..	186½	..	Do.
7	Do. Do. but figure with helmet, &c.	212	..	Do.
8	Do. Do. Figure sitting presenting a bow, ...	..	176	British Museum.
9	Do. Do. different legend, ..	..	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi.
10	Arsaces XVI.? Do. head of Mousa? ..	..	..	Num. Rois Grecs. Pl. 70, No. 4.

One with similar type in my Cabinet weighs 215½ Grains.

No.	COINS.	WEIGHT GRAINS.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
11	Arsaces XVIII. Reverse Victory, ...	..	..	Pl. 70, No. 5.
12	Arsaces XIX. Reverse figure presenting a palm to the king, small figure under, date 334 on both sides, ..	..	..	Do. No. 6.
13	Do. Do. no date, ...	..	..	Do. No. 8.
14	Do. Old head full face, reverse figure presenting a palm to the king on horseback, ..	..	177	Do. No. 9.
15	Do. Side face, usual type, ..	..	..	Do. No. 10.
16	Arsaces XX. Do. Do. date 356, ..	..	..	British Museum.
17	Arsaces XXI. Do. Do. date 357, ..	..	..	Do.
18	Do. Do. Do. date 360, ..	197*	..	Author.

PLATE 6.

19	Arsaces XXII. Reverse king sitting to his right, date 363, ...	216	177	Author.
20	Arsaces XXIII. Do. date 367, ...	222½	..	Do.
21	Arsaces XXIV. Do. date 374, ...	..	178	British Museum.
22	Do. Do. date 379, ...	212	..	Author.
23	Do. Do. but figure presenting a wreath, date 388, ..	177½	..	Do.
24	Arsaces XXV. Young head, rev. Do. date 389, ..	..	..	Mr. Tobin.
25	Arsaces XXVII. Head with tiara, Δ behind, date 433, ...	..	..	British Museum.
26	Do. Do. Є behind, date 435, ..	173	..	Author.
27	Do. Do. Γ behind, date 436, ..	181	..	Do.
28	Arsaces XXVIII. Do. B behind, date 464, ..	..	179	Col. Chesney.
29	Do. Do. Do. date 482, ..	195½	..	Author.
30	Arsaces XXIX. Do. Head with diadem only and rosette, date 504, ..	..	..	British Museum.
31	Arsaces XXX. Head with tiara, date 530, ..	209	..	Author.
32	Drachm of Arsaces XII. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ. ..	..	146	Lieut. Col. Moore,

* One with same date in my Cabinet, weighs 222 Grains.

PLATE 7.—BRASS COINS.

No.	COINS.		SIZE.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
1	Arsaces III.	Old bearded head, reverse figure in a biga, ...	5	190	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 2.
2	Arsaces VI.	Bearded head with diadem, reverse Horse's head, ...	4½	191	Author.
3	Do.	Do. with tiara, Do. ..	4	..	Do.
4	Do.	Do. with diadem only, reverse horse racing, ...	4¾	..	Do.
5	Do.	Do. Reverse Victory, ..	2	..	
6	Do.	Do. Reverse Quiver, ..	2½	..	
7	Do.	Old head, reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ . ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ . Horse's head, ..	4½	..	Author.
8	Do.	Head with tiara, reverse Victory,	3	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 32.
9	Do.	Do. Reverse figure with wand and wreath, ...	2	..	Author.
10	Do.	Head with diadem, reverse smaller head with diadem, ..	7	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi.
11	Arsaces VII.	Head with diadem, reverse ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . Elephant, ..	3¼	..	Author.
12	Arsaces VIII.	Old head with tiara, reverse Horse galloping, ...	3⅝	192	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 45, and Author,
13	Arsaces IX.	Head with tiara, rev. ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ . ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ . Pegasus,	4½	..	Author.
14	Arsaces XI.	Head with diadem crowned by Victory, reverse Horse, ..	4	..	Do.
15	Arsaces XII.	Head with diadem, reverse Horse,	3½	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 50.
16	Arsaces XIII.	Do. with long neck, rev. Anchor,	1½	..	Author,
17	Arsaces XIV.	Head with diadem and curled hair, reverse Bird, ...	1	193	Do.
18	Do.	Do. Rev. large turreted building,	2½	..	Do.
19	Do.	Do. Do. different, ..	2½	..	Do.
20	Do.	Do. Rev. figure before a pillar,	1¼	..	Do.
21	Do.	Do. Star & crescent, rev. Anchor, Λ,	2¼	..	Do.
22	Do.	Do. without adjuncts, rev. Quiver,	1½	..	Do.
23	Do.	Younger head, reverse Victory, ..	3	..	Do.

No.	COINS.	SIZE.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
24	Arsaces XIV. Younger head, rev. Horse's head,	1	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi. No. 61.
25	Do. Do. Reverse Star, Crescent and ⍓, ...	1¼	..	Do. No. 62.
26	Do. Do. Reverse Bird, Legend, ..	1½	..	
27	Do. Do. Star before, Star and Crescent behind, reverse Bird, ..	1¼	..	Author.
28	Do. Do. Star and Crescent behind, reverse figure with crooked staff,	2½	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi,
29	Do. Do. without adjuncts, rev. Horse's head, lozenge shaped instrument.	1½	..	Author.

PLATE 8.

30	Arsaces XV.	Head with diadem and curled hair, reverse Elephant, ...	4	193	Author.
31	Do.	Do. Reverse Victory walking, ..	1	..	Do.
32	Do.	Female head turreted, rev. Victory before a Building, ...	1¼	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 69.
33	Do.	Head with diadem, &c., rev. Female head turreted, ...	2	..	Do. No. 67.
34	Do.	Do. Longer beard, reverse ⍓ in the field, ...	1½	..	Author.
35	Do.	Do. Reverse. two handled Vase,	1½	..	Do.
36	Do.	Do. Star, reverse Fish ⍓, ..	1¼	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 66,
37	Do.	Do. Eagle with wreath behind, rev. bison, star, ...	1¼	..	Do. No. 65.
38	Do.	Do. Crowned by two Victories, reverse horseman, ...	2	..	Do. No. 68.
39	Arsaces XVIII.	Head with diadem & straight beard, reverse Victory, ...	2	194	Author.
40	Arsaces XIX.	Old head with pointed beard, reverse ⍓ Bird, ...	1½	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 79.
41	Do.	Do. Reverse figure at an Altar,	1½	..	Do. No. 81.
42	Do.	Do. Star & crescent behind, reverse large star and crescent, ..	2	..	Do.
43	Arsaces XXI.	Head with straight hair and beard, reverse large ⍓, ...	2	195	

No.	COINS.	SIZE.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
44	Arsaces XXI. Head with straight hair and beard, reverse two handled Vase, ..	1½	..	Author.
45	Do. Do. Do. Square handled ..	1½	..	Do.
46	Do. Do. Do. in a dotted circle, ..	1½	..	Do.
47	Do. Do. Do. in a dotted ellipse,	2¼	..	Do.
48	Do. Do. Reverse a large wreath, ..	1½	..	
49	Do. Do. Reverse Cornucopia in a wreath, ...	2¼	..	
50	Do. Do. Reverse Bird, with wings raised, ...	2	..	Author.
51	Do. Do. Reverse figure sitting with short staff, ...	2	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 88.
52	Do. Do. Reverse figure before an Altar,	2½	..	Do. No. 90.
53	Do. Do. Reverse Female, three quarter length, ...	2	..	Author.
54	Do. Do. Reverse Female sitting with palm, ...	2½	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 91.
55	Do. Do. Reverse Queen's head with tiara, ...	2	..	Author.
56	Do. Do. Do. with diadem and			
57	turreted crown, ...	2	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi,
	Do. Do. Rev. figure with Mallet in a	2	..	Do.
58	square, ...	2	..	Do.
59	Do. Do. Reverse figure with shield,			
	Do. Do. Rev. bearded head with tiara,	1½	..	Do. No. 96.

PLATE 9.

60	Meherdates,	Full faced head between two stars, reverse figure with bird under an arch, ...	2¼	195	Author.
61	Do.	Do. without stars or arch, ..	1¼	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 101.
62	Do.	Obverse defaced, seems a large rose, reverse as No. 60, ..	1½	..	Author.
63	Arsaces XXII.	Old bearded head, reverse Horse's head, ...	2	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi,
64	Do.	Do. Hair in curls, reverse forepart of a horse, ...	1⅞	..	No. 104. Do. No. 97.

No.	COINS.	SIZE.	PAGE	REFERENCE.
65	Arsaces XXIII. Head with short round beard, rev. bird in a square, ...	2	196	Author.
66	Do. Do. Do. Bird without square,	1¼	..	Do.
67	Arsaces XXIV. Head with long beard, reverse figure sitting presenting a bow,	1½	..	Do.
68	Do. Do. Do. No legend, ..	1¼	..	Do.
69	Do. Do. Reverse Ox's head full faced,	2	..	Do.
70	Do. Do. Reverse in a beaded circle. a kind of fruit, ...	1⅝	..	Do.
71	Do. Do. Reverse caduceus in a beaded ellipse, ...	1½	..	Do.
72	Do. Do. Reverse bison lying down,	1½	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 108.
73	Arsaces XXV. Young head, rev. two handled Vase,	1½	..	Do. No. 111.
74	Arsaces XXVI. Bearded head with tiara, rosette and sceptre, rev. turreted head, HKT.	4¾	197	Author.
75	Do. Do. without rosette or sceptre, AT	3¼	..	Do.
76	Do. Do. with rosette, rev. turreted head, palm branch, ..	3¼	..	Mr. De Bartholomæi, No. 114.
77	Arsaces XXVII. Do. Sassanian tiara, ...	6½	198	Author.
78	Arsaces XXVIII. Bearded head with tiara, IIT reverse, Female sitting, ..	3	..	Do.
79	Arsaces XXIX. Head full face, reverse Female sitting, palm, ...	3½	..	Do.
80	Do. Do. with rosettes, reverse bird,	1¼	..	
81	Arsaces XXX. Young head with pointed beard, A. reverse turreted head, A. ..	1¼	199	Author.
82	Do. Do. with tiara, reverse bird, ..	1½	..	Do.
83	Do. Head with tiara and pointed beard, reverse bird flying with wreath,	1¼	..	Do.

PLATE 10.—SUPPLEMENTAL.

	PARTHIAN BRASS.			
1	Arsaces VI. Head with diadem, A before, reverse Pegasus BAΣIΛEΩΣ. MEΓAΛOY.	3¾	227	Author.
2	Do. Do. BAΣIΛEΩΣ. BAΣIΛEΩN.	3	..	Do.
3	Do. Do. M and monogram behind, reverse Quiver, ...	2½	..	Do.

No.	COINS—PARTHIAN BRASS.	SIZE.	PAGE.	REFERENCE.
4	Arsaces XI. Head full face, reverse Horse, ..	3½	227	Author.
5	Arsaces XII.? Head crowned by Victory, ..	4	..	Do.
6	Arsaces XV. King's head, Star and Crescent, reverse turreted head, date, ..	2	228	Do.
7	Do. Horseman, rev. warrior combating,	2¼	..	Do.
8	Arsaces XXIV.? King's, head, rev. figure sacrificing,	1¾	..	Do.
9	Arsaces XXIX. Head full faced, rev. turreted head A,	1¾	..	Mr. Scott.
10	Arsaces XXX. King's head, rev. Bird, ..	2	..	Do.
11	Uncertain. Turreted head, rev. KΣ—HOΥ—A,	1½	..	Author.
	BRASS COINS OF SUB-PARTHIAN DYNASTIES.			
12	Attambilus, K. of Characene. King's head, reverse Hercules sitting, ...	6½	..	Do.
13	Meredates and Viphoba. King's head, rev. Queen's head, date 454, ...	7½	229	Do.
14	Do. Do. different, ...	7¼	..	Do.
15	Uncertain. King's head with tiara, Anchor behind, reverse Queen's head, ..	2½	..	Do.
16	Do. Do. Uncertain characters, reverse rude head, uncertain characters,	6½	..	Do.
17	Do. Do. different, ...	6¼	..	Do.
18	Head of a Parthian king. (Vologeses III.?) B behind, rev. unknown instrument,	5¼	..	Do.
	SILVER COINS OF A PERSIAN DYNASTY UNDER THE PARTHIANS.	WEIGHT GRS.		
19	Head of a Parthian king, rev. Star and Crescent,	8½	230	Do.
20	Bearded head with tiara, ancient Pehlvi legend, rev. small head with diadem, ..	49	..	Do.
21	Head of a Parthian king with tiara, rev. head of a Persian king, Pehlvi legend, ..	59½	..	Do.
22	Do. Do.	24	..	Do.
23	Do. Do. different, ..	21	..	Do.
24	Do. Do. No legend, ..	13	..	Do.
25	Head with a kind of helmet, rev. Fire altar between two figures, ...	57	..	Do.
26	Head of a Parthian king with tiara, rev. II. in a wreath, ...	16½	..	Do.
27	Head of a Parthian king with tiara, (probably Arsaces XXXI., Artabanus V., rev. figure at an Altar,	58½	231	Do.
28	Do. Do.	29	..	Do.

ADVERTISEMENT.

After the 9th Plate had been executed, a considerable parcel of Parthian Brass Coins came into my possession, and as it contained several, which differed from those already engraved, and some which were altogether unknown to me, I considered the introduction of a Supplemental Plate desirable; it also occurred to me that as I possessed a few coins of princes, who under the Parthians ruled over Persia and other countries, their introduction as an appendage would be interesting to many of my readers, and might add to the materials for appropriating these curious, but little known coins, although I may not myself be able to interpret their legends, or throw much light on their classification.

The Supplemental Parthian coins (all Brass), are 11 in number, viz.:—

1—Arsaces VI., King's head, with diadem, A before, reverse Pegasus racing ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ, size $3\frac{3}{4}$. This coin bears a type which I have not before met with on the first coinage of this king.

2—Same king, head with diadem, reverse Pegasus racing, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. ΕΠΙ+ΑΝΟΥΣ, size 3. This coin has been given by Mr. De Bartholomæi, and appears in the Descriptive Catalogue of the Brass Coins, No. 15.

3—Same king, with same head dress M., and a monogram behind, reverse a Quiver, and legend as last, size $2\frac{1}{2}$. This coin differs from Nos. 11 and 13 of the Descriptive Catalogue.

4—Arsaces XI., king's head, full faced as on the Silver coins, reverse horse pacing; parts of the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ., &c., in 7 lines. Size $3\frac{1}{2}$. No full faced coin of this king in brass has before come under my observation.

5—Arsaces XII?—Head with diadem, crowned by Victory. reverse, horse pacing, legend as on the coin, Pl. 7, No. 14, given to Arsaces XI., size 4. The portrait on this coin bears so strong a resemblance to those on the silver coins of Arsaces XII., that I am induced to assign it to that prince, notwithstanding the type and legend are exactly the same as on the brass coins given to Arsaces XI.; it is indeed possible that the latter may also belong to Arsaces XII., but if not we may suppose that prince to have used his fathers types in his first coinage.

6—Arsaces XV., king's head bearded, with diadem, star and crescent before, reverse turreted head : : ΠΣ . behind. Size 2. This little coin, which appears similar to Pl. 8. No. 33, corrects the adjuncts of the latter, taken from an imperfect specimen, and shews that what is delineated as a turreted crown, is in fact the letter Σ .; the date 28 : : of which the unit is defaced agrees with the early period of this king's reign.

7—Same king, horseman, reverse warrior combatting, legend defaced ; size $2\frac{1}{4}$. The obverse type, which resembles the reverse of Pl. 8, No. 38, renders it probable that this little coin which is quite new to me, is rightly appropriated.

8—Arsaces XXIV ?—King's head bearded, with diadem, reverse figure sacrificing at an altar before a building, size $1\frac{3}{4}$. The head on this coin resembles that on the coins assigned to Arsaces XXIV., whilst the reverse is somewhat like those of Pl. 7, No. 20, of Arsaces XIV., and Pl. 8, No. 41, of Arsaces XIX., the portrait is however, totally different from those of the two latter.

9—Arsaces XXIX., king's head full faced with rosettes, reverse turreted head, Λ behind, size $1\frac{3}{4}$. The obverse of this coin makes it certain that it belongs to Arsaces XXIX.

10—Arsaces XXX., bearded head with diadem, reverse bird, size 2. This coin differs a little from those given in Pl. 9.

11—Turreted head, reverse ΚΣ—ΗΟΥ—Α. These letters which seem part of a legend in three lines, I can make nothing of ; if the three centre were intended for a date, (478), the coin belongs to Arsaces XXVIII., its size is $1\frac{1}{2}$.

BRASS COINS OF SUB-PARTHIAN DYNASTIES.

12—Attambilus, king of Characene, head slightly bearded, with diadem ΑΤΤΑΜ . . ΣΩΤ : : Hercules sitting.

The important kingdom of Characene, appears to have submitted to Parthia, as early as the reign of Arsaces V., and remained at least tributary to that country during the rule of the Arsacidæ ; that it was governed, however by kings of its own, appears from its coins, on which we find the names of Tiræus, with dates 80, 83, (Aer. Seleuc), Artabazes 250—Attambilus 298, 303, 313—Adinnigaus 333—Monneses 422—Artapanus. The coins of Meredates and Viphoba 454, are now also assigned to the same country.

Nos. 13. 14—Varieties of the coins of Meredates and Vippoba, with the names at each side of, and the date 454 under the queen's bust. It will be observed that the date ΥΝΔ, is placed differently from the usual mode and similar to our own, the hundreds being placed first and the units last.

15—This little coin, which has not I believe been hitherto published, seems somewhat similar to those I have last noticed, and may possibly belong also to the kings of Characene; several of the letters appear Greek; the anchor behind the king's head, has been considered the symbol of Seleucia, generally possessed by the Parthian kings.

16, 17—These coins which are of common occurrence, I have no means of appropriating, the characters being unknown to me, and I believe their interpretation has not been accomplished by any one who has attempted it, but they seem to belong to a dynasty of princes under the Parthian kings.

18—Head with tiara and pointed beard, Β behind, reverse an unknown instrument surrounded by uncertain characters. This curious coin belongs to a class which has frequently engaged the attention of the ablest Numismatic writers, but with little success; the head has been considered, and I have no doubt correctly as that of a Parthian king; the object on the reverse has been by different writers supposed to be a key, a standard, an altar, or a religious symbol, but their attention has been principally directed to the legend in which but little satisfaction seems to have been obtained, but the name Vologeses has by many been thought to be contained in it. To me the head appears to be that of Arsaces XXVIII., Vologeses III., and the Β behind, makes this appropriation still more probable; the object on the reverse although extremely doubtful, seems more likely to have been intended for an altar, but I can offer no opinion as to the legend. This specimen weighs 146½ grains, being much larger than those noticed by Mr. Thomas, (Num. Chron., Vol. 12, p. 97, 99,) and which weigh 104. 100, and 128½ grains.

SILVER COINS OF A PERSIAN DYNASTY UNDER THE PARTHIANS.

These interesting coins, which until lately have been but little noticed, partake in their types, both of the Parthian and Persian character, whilst their legends are altogether Persian. On the earlier coins, the head of the Parthian king is generally represented on one side, and that of the Persian on the other, but on the

later coins, probably in consequence of Persia having become less independent and rather a province of Parthia, the head of the Parthian ruler alone appears.

Mr. Thomas has bestowed a considerable degree of attention on these coins, and his researches which will be found in the Num. Chron., Vol. 12, pp. 68 to 77, and 91 to 114 and other places, have thrown much light on them, but complete satisfaction on this subject is as yet far from being attained, arising partly from our imperfect knowledge of the characters and partly from the legends being partially defaced and generally incomplete.

No. 19, which seems the earliest of those in my cabinet, presents a head which from the features and dressing of the hair seems to belong to Arsaces XIV., and the star and crescent which first occur on the coins of that prince, render the appropriation still more probable; the legend is in the ancient Pehlvi character, which I am unable to translate; it weighs only $8\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

20—Bearded head with tiara, ancient Pehlvi inscription, reverse beardless head with diadem only, and no legend. Mr. Thomas has not been able to ascertain the name of the Persian king, and I can make no attempt to appropriate this coin which is a drachm.

21—Bearded head with tiara, reverse, head of the Persian king with diadem; ancient Pehlvi inscription, in which Mr. Thomas reads the words "King Kobad;" this coin is also a drachm.

22, 23—These coins present the same types as the last, and probably belong to the same king, but I am unable to translate their legends; their weights are a few grains less than that of a Hemidrachm.

24—This coin which is without inscription, bears the head of the Parthian king on one side and that of the Persian on the other, and from the external ornaments of the tiara on the former, I think it belongs to one of the four last of the Parthian kings; this coin is the fourth part of the drachma.

25—This drachm from its thickness and the Grecian character of the king's head, would seem to belong to an earlier period than any of the former, whilst the form of the fire altar on the reverse, would appear to assign it to a much later; no legend appears on it.

26—Head of the Parthian king, with tiara and very aquiline nose, reverse I I in the centre of an ornamented wreath, but apparently without legend, and I should have classed it with the regular Parthian coins, but for its general resemblance to those of the Partho-Persian dynasty; it seems to be from its weight a quarter drachm.

27—Parthian king's head with tiara and aquiline nose, reverse a figure sacrificing at a fire altar surrounded by ancient Pehlvi characters.

28—This coin resembles the last in every particular but the size, and both resemble so closely in the type of their reverses, the coin published by Mr. Thomas, in Vol. 12, of the Num. Chron., No. 8, and assigned by that learned writer to Artahchetr, that I have little doubt they both, and probably No. 26, also, belong to the king who preceded that prince, that is to the Great Artabanus (Arsaces XXXI.), who ruled over that portion of the great Parthian empire, which included Persia, and we have thus presented to us a class of coins, which although not strictly Parthian, supply us with the only coins, (if we except Arsaces I.), necessary to complete the Parthian series. All the coins engraved in this Supplemental Plate, except Nos. 9 and 10, which belong to Mr. Scott, are in my own cabinet.

A close examination of all classes of sub-Parthian coins, by a person competent to the interpretation of their legends, is a great desideratum in Numismatics, the Partho-Persian coins in particular, are of great importance, as being among the few records we possess of a dynasty whose reigns and even whose names are involved in fable and confusion.

The subject is, however, one of extreme difficulty, requiring not only a knowledge of several of the least known of the Asiatic dead languages, but a sufficient number of specimens for illustration and comparison; the very circumstance of their being unknown is a great cause of their being neglected, and few cabinets possess any large number of specimens; it is therefore, the more important that Collectors and Curators of Public Collections, should publish as many of these uncertain coins as possible, as being the only means of enabling us to class and appropriate them.

In my thanks to Correspondents for impressions of and communications relative to Parthian coins, I should have included the names of C. W. Loscombe, Esq., Clifton; Rev. Joseph W. Martin, Keston, near Bromley; Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., and B. Nightingale, Esq., London. I am also indebted to my daughter Miss A. M. Lindsay, and my son Paul Lindsay, Esq., by whom under my own inspection a considerable portion of the drawings for this work were executed.

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ERRATA.

Page 6, line 19—	For Deidotus,	Read Diodotus.
20, line 32—	For *	Read †.
26, line 2—	For Brundusuim,	Read Brundusium.
29, last line—	For there,	Read their.
89, line 21—	For Cresceus,	Read Crescens.
101, line 25, after	"period,"	Insert "in."
109, line 6—	For 423,	Read 433.
122, line 14, after	"according,"	Insert "to."
125, Note *.—	For has,	Read had.
161, line 26, after	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ,	Insert "&c."
165, No. 2, after	"ornamented,"	Insert "with."
168, No. 46—	For ΔΙΚΔΙΟΥ,	read ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.
171, No. 98, before	No. 67,	Insert "Pl. 3."
173, No. 119,—	For under,	Read on.
176, line 28,—	For setting,	Read sitting.
185, No. 67,—	For Nelligan,	Read Neligan.
229, line 1—	For Vippoba,	Read Viphoba.
244, line 3rd from the bottom, for	Titius,	Read Titus.
245, line 24—	For Varrius,	Read Varus,

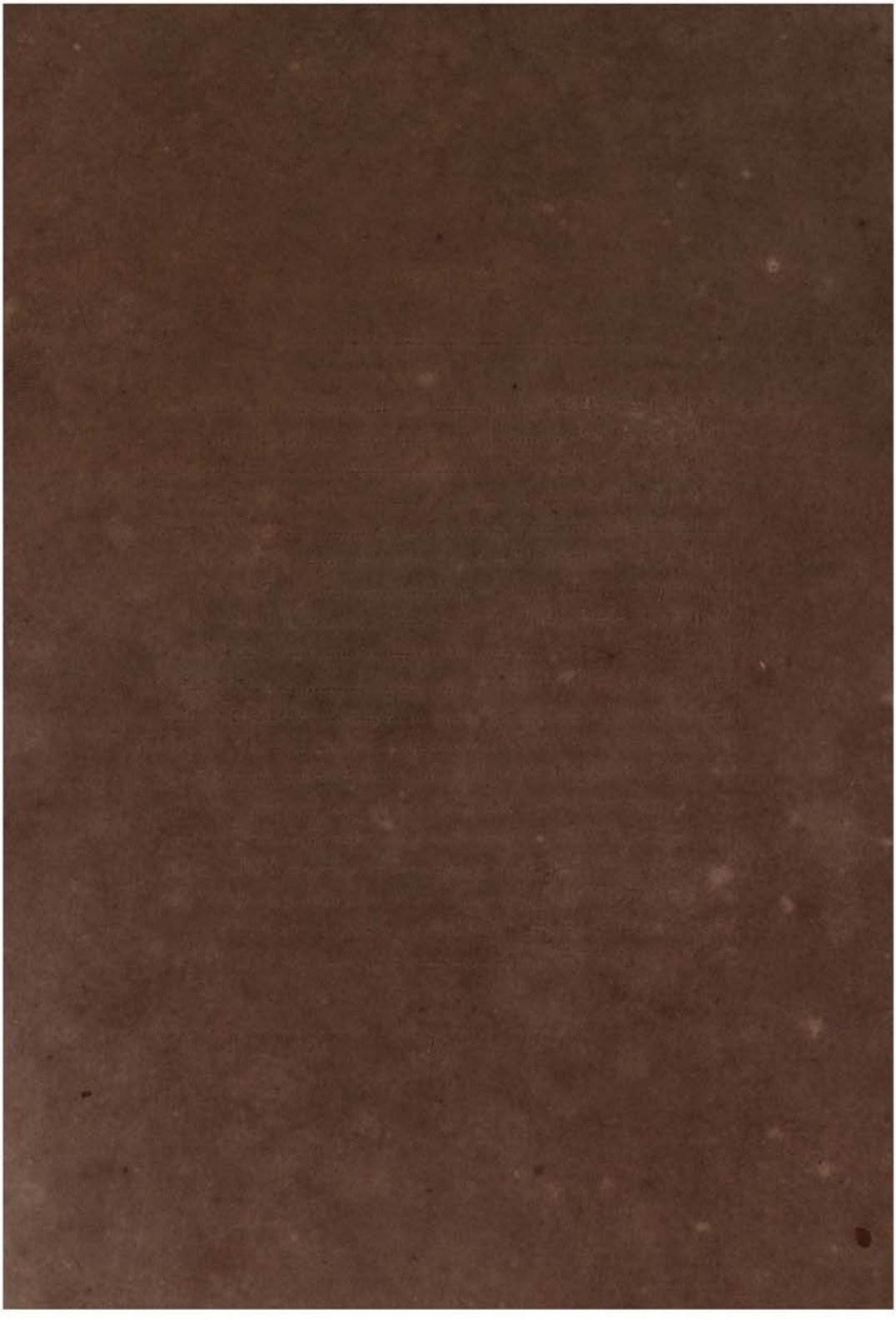

PLATE I

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Arsaces II & III

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Arsaces III (Artabanus I)

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Arsaces IV (Phraapatius)

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Arsaces V (Phrahates I)

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Arsaces VI (Mithridates I)

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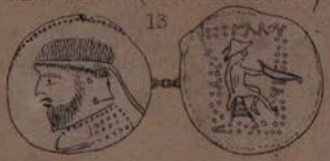

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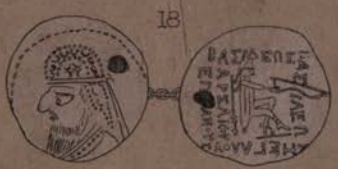

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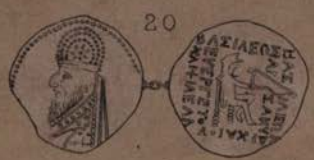

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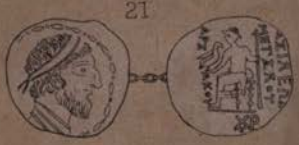

Arsaces VII (Phrahates II)

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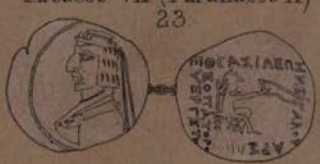

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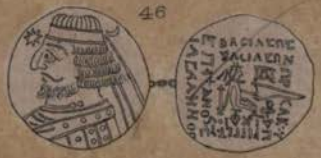

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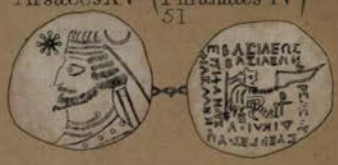
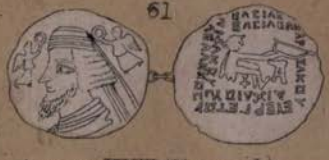
Arsaces XIV & Pacorus

Arsaces XV (Phrahates IV)



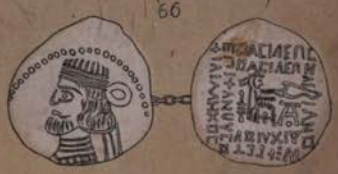
Arsaces XV & Mousa



Arsaces XVIII (Vonones I)

Arsaces XIX (Artabanus III)

Arsaces XX (Bardanes)



Arsaces XXI (Goterzes)

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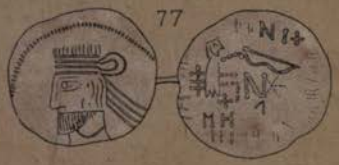

Arsaces XXIV (Artabanus IV)

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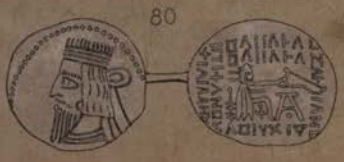

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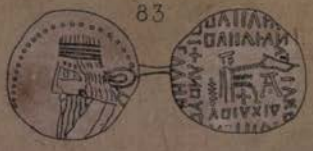

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Arsaces XXVII (Vologeses II)

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Arsaces XXVIII (Vologeses III)

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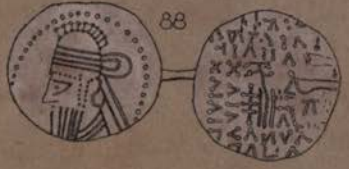

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Arsaces XXIX (Vologeses IV)

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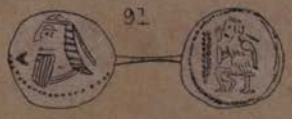

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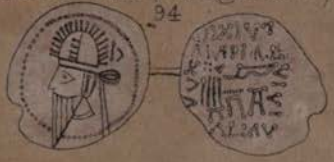

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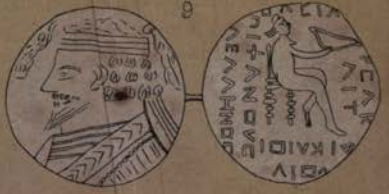
PLATE 5.(Tetradrachms)

Arsaces VI (Mithridates I)

Arsaces XIV (Orodes I)

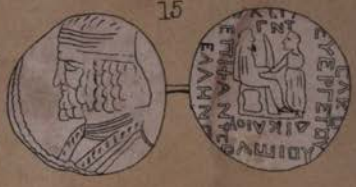
Arsaces XV (Phrahates IV)



Arsaces XVI? & Mousa?

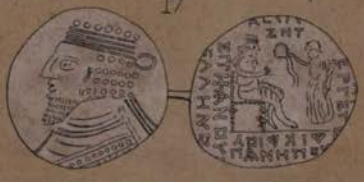
Arsaces XVIII (Vonones I)

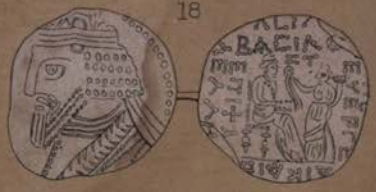
Arsaces XIX (Artabanus)



Arsaces XX (Bardanes)

Arsaces XXI (Goterzes)





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Arsaces XXII (Vonones II)

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Arsaces XXIII (Vologeses I.)

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Arsaces XXIV (Artabanus IV)

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Arsaces XXV (Pacorus)

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Arsaces XXVII (Vologeses II)

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Arsaces XXVIII (Vologeses III)

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Arsaces XXIX (Vologeses IV)

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Arsaces XXX (Vologeses V)

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Arsaces XII (Phrahates III)

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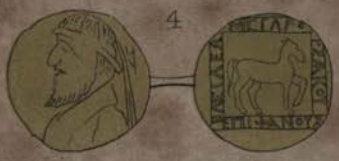
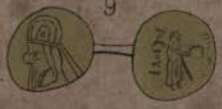
Drachm.

PLATE 7. (Brass)

Arsaces III (Artabanus I)

Arsaces VI (Mithridates I)





Arsaces VII (Phrahates II)

Arsaces VIII (Artabanus II)

Arsaces IX (Mithridates II)

Arsaces XI (Sinatroces)

Arsaces XII (Phrahates III)

Arsaces XIII (Mithridates III)

Arsaces XIV (Orodes I)

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PLATE 8. (Brass)

Arsaces XV (Phrahates IV)

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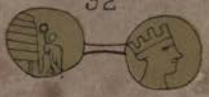

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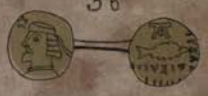

Arsaces XVIII (Vonones I) Arsaces XIX (Artabanus III)

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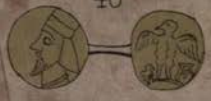

Arsaces XXI (Goterzes)

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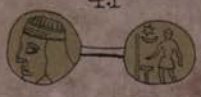

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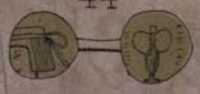

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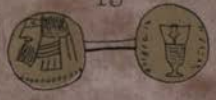

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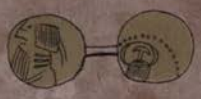

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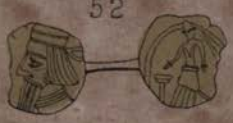

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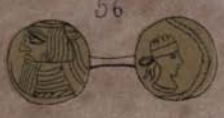

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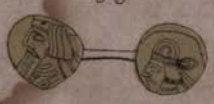

PLATE 9. (Brass)

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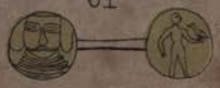

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Arsaces XXII (Vonones II)
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Arsaces XXIII (Vologeses I)
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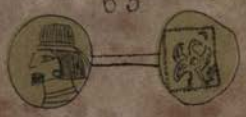

Arsaces XXIV (Artabanus IV)
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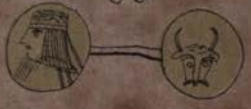

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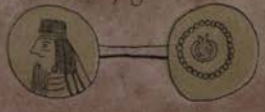

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Arsaces XXV (Pacorus)
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Arsaces XXVI (Chosroes)
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Arsaces XXVIII (Vologeses III)
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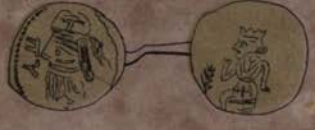
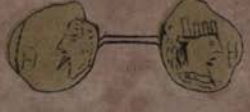
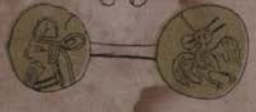


Arsaces XXIX (Vologeses IV)
79

80

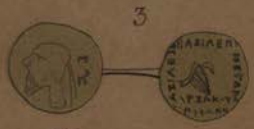
Arsaces XXX (Vologeses V)
81


82

83


Wheeler Abbe 70 South Natl. Cor.

Arsaces VI. (Mithridates I.)



Arsaces XI. (Sinatroces)

Arsaces XII.? (Phrahates III.)

Arsaces XV. (Phrahates IV.)

Arsaces XXIV. (Artabanus IV.)

Arsaces XXIX. (Vologeses IV.)

Arsaces XXX. (Vologeses V.)

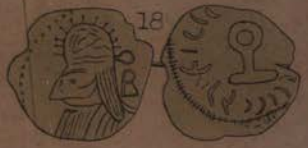
Uncertain

Brass Coins of Sub-Parthian Dynasties.

Attambilus K. of Characene

Meredates & Viphoba

Uncertain

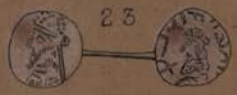


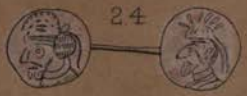
Silver Coins of a Persian Dynasty under the Parthians.

Arsaces XIV.? (Orodes I.)

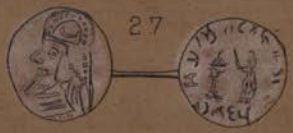
Uncertain

Kobad.?





Arsaces XXXI.? (Artabanus V.)



Letters of unusual formation occurring on Parthian Coins.

Those of the first four Kings are the usual Greek.

	Arsaces V&VI	VII	VIII	IX-XIII	XIV	XIV & Pacorus	XV	XVIII	XIX	XX-XXI	XXII-XXIII	XXIV	XXV-XXX
Α													
Β													
Γ													
Δ													
Ε													
Ζ													
Η													
Θ													
Ι													
Κ													
Λ													
Μ													
Ν													
Ξ													
Ο													
Π													
Ρ													
Σ													
Τ													
Υ													
Φ													
Χ													
Ψ													
Ω													

The unusual letters are only given in the reigns where they first occur.

Uncertain characters on Drachms of Arsaces XXVII.

Do. behind the head of Arsaces XXX.

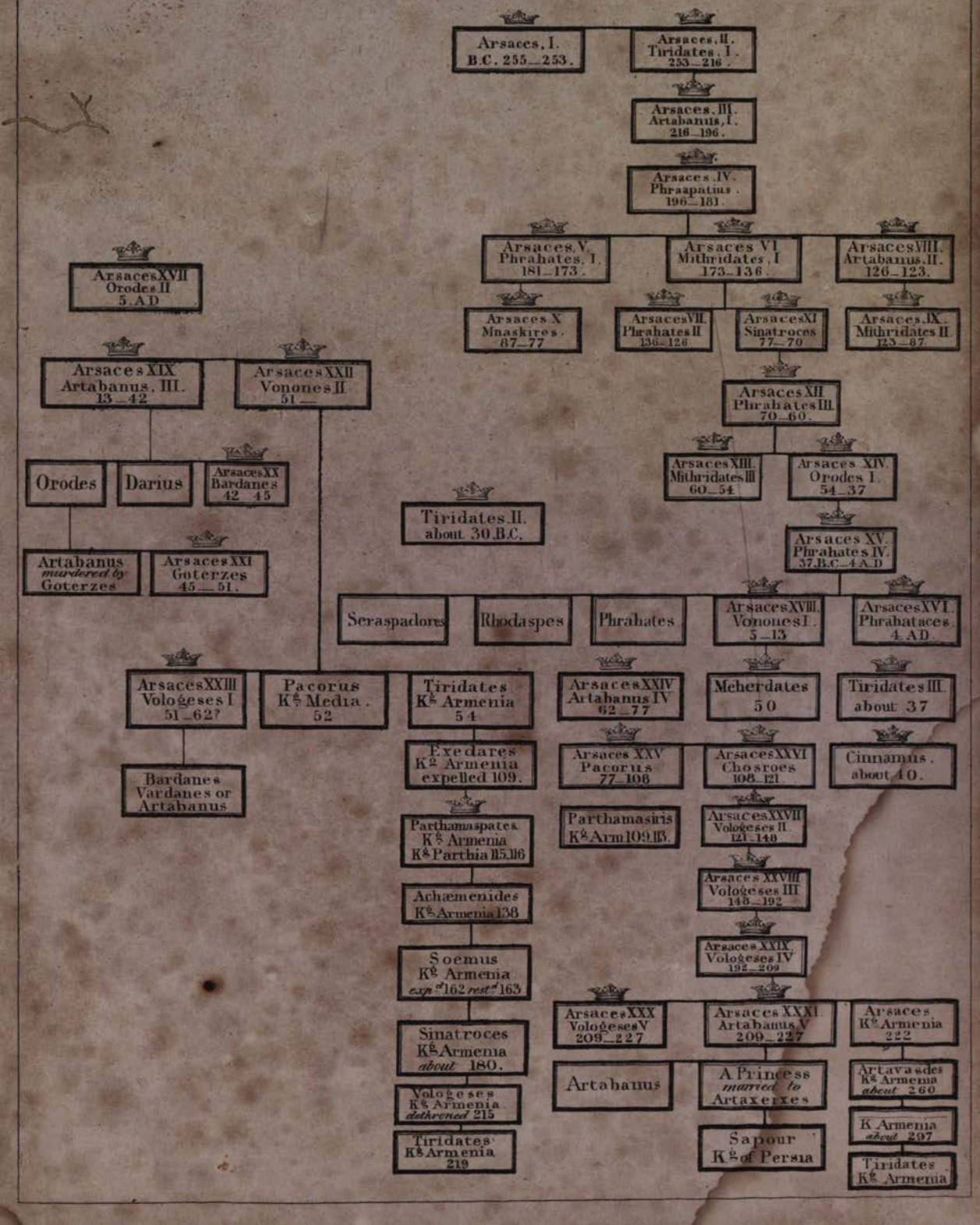
Do. behind the head of Arsaces XXII.

Sizes of Brass Coins.

MONOGRAMS & INITIALS OF TOWNS & PROVINCES.

1. Tambracæ.
2. Laodicea.
3. Tigranocerta.
4. Motene?
5. Ecbatana.
6. Ctesiphon.
7. Drangiana.
8. Rhagæ.
9. Pasargadæ.
10. Charax.
11. Phraata.
12. Ninos.
13. Heraclea.
14. Uncertain.

SUCCESSION OF THE PARTHIAN KINGS.


Arsaces, I. B.C. 255—253.
Arsaces, II. Tiridates, I. 253—216.
Arsaces, III. Artabanus, I. 216—196.
Arsaces, IV. Phraapatius. 196—181.
Arsaces, V. Phrahates, I. 181—173.
Arsaces VI Mithridates, I 173—136.
Arsaces VIII. Artabanus, II. 126—123.
Arsaces X Mnaskires. 87—77
Arsaces VII. Phrahates II 136—126
Arsaces XI Sinatroces 77—70
Arsaces IX. Mithridates II 123—87
Arsaces XII Phrahates III. 70—60.
Arsaces XIII. Mithridates III 60—54
Arsaces XIV. Orodes I. 54—37
Arsaces XV. Phrahates IV. 37 B.C.—4 A.D
Arsaces XVI. Phrahataces 4 AD.
Arsaces XVII Orodes II 5 AD
Arsaces XIX Artabanus. III. 13—42
Arsaces XXII Vonones II 51—
Orodes
Darius
Arsaces XX Bardanes 42—45
Artabanus murdered by Goterzes
Arsaces XXI Goterzes 45—51.
Tiridates. II. about 30 B.C.
Seraspadores
Rhodaspes
Phrahates
Arsaces XVIII. Vonones I. 5—13
Arsaces XXIII Vologeses I 51—62?
Pacorus K. Media. 52
Tiridates K. Armenia 54
Exedares K. Armenia expelled 109.
Bardanes Vardanes or Artabanus
Parthamaspates K. Armenia K. Parthia 115—116
Achæmenides K. Armenia 138
Soemus K. Armenia exp. 162 rest. 163
Sinatroces K. Armenia about 180.
Vologeses K. Armenia dethroned 215
Tiridates K. Armenia 219
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Arsaces XXV Pacorus 77—108
Parthamasiris K. Arm 109—113.
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Arsaces XXVII Vologeses II 121—148
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Arsaces XXIX Vologeses IV 192—209
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Cinnamus. about 40.
Arsaces XXX Vologeses V 209—227
Arsaces XXXI Artabanus V 209—227
Artabanus
A Princess married to Artaxerxes
Sapour K. of Persia
Arsaces K. Armenia 222
Artavasdes K. Armenia about 260
K. Armenia about 297
Tiridates K. Armenia

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